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Patriotism Among Muslim American Opinion Leaders

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PATRIOTISM AMONG MUSLIM AMERICAN OPINION LEADERS

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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Approved by:

Advisor

Date

DEDICATION

To my beloved daughter and husband Minnah and Sammer Bashir. I could not have done it without your support these last couple of years. Thank you! Mom and Dad, I will be eternally grateful for always encouraging me to do my best and reach my fullest potential.

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PREFACE

I hope this study allows an often mislabeled and misunderstood group of people to find their place and identity in America. I hope that this work symbolizes and contributes a small patch stitched into the larger quilt of American identity.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

While a significant degree of public opinion research has been conducted about Muslim Americans (Panagopoulous 2006, Pew 2007, Gallup 2010, Pew 2011), very little research has focused on the ideological beliefs among Muslim American opinion leaders. This is problematic because public opinion is essential for a well-functioning democracy, so that the public can effectively weigh important issues as well as ensure that the government is being held accountable. Also, minority groups (such as Muslim Americans) are instrumental because of the prior history of exclusion. Patriotism and public opinion are associated concepts, largely because public opinion may dictate who is or who is not loyal, thereby deeming them a patriot or not. Some groups may not feel a sense of belonging to the nation, mainly because other groups do not feel that they are patriots, and in particular, if they are treated unfairly by political authorities or are unduly characterized as a national security threat and are therefore systematically denied the same due process protections granted to other citizens.

Research in Metropolitan Detroit is essential because of increased monitoring of Muslim Americans in Dearborn. Irrational fear after 9/11 is leading some national security experts to consider Dearborn as a haven for suspected terrorists, despite the fact that there have been no terrorist attempts by Dearborn residents. Moreover, if a social group, like Muslim-Americans, is viewed by substantive members of governing elites as not belonging or that they are *not true patriots*, it may prove difficult, if not impossible to be heard in the halls of congress, the courts or the executive branch. Therefore, it is important to gauge feelings of belongingness as well as patriotism, from Muslim Americans themselves. Anticipatory exclusion (Fung, 2004), the feeling that one will be

excluded because of the lived reality that one is politically powerless in comparison to other political groups, or if one feels like they cannot influence the decision making process, may lead some Muslim Americans to voluntarily withdraw from the messy world of democratic politics. Therefore, it is important to explore the ideological beliefs of Muslim American opinion leaders in order to understand how they perceive themselves, to gauge their feelings of belongingness, Americanness, and patriotism, and to understand whether they experience anticipatory exclusion. More specifically, we know very little about how opinion leaders address two interrelated questions: First, what it means to be a patriot; and second, what constitutes an American way of thinking or being. The larger inquiry revolves around how opinion leaders in the Muslim-American community: How are the concepts patriotism, American national identity, values and beliefs, civic duty and obligations, and political activism defined amongst Muslim-American opinion leaders. Opinion leaders, in this case, are essential. They are in a position to persuade their followers. They pass on similar beliefs and engage in discussions with their members. Therefore, it would be important to study how Muslim Americans perceive these concepts and understand the political implications for such a discourse among the Muslim American population. It is my thesis that Muslim Americans, like all other Americans, will have multiple conceptualizations of patriotism. These conceptualizations of patriotism are contingent upon self-identification of Americanness (high, moderate, low) and levels of activism (politically active or passive). The ends of this spectrum of conceptualizations of patriotism are: the *prototypical patriot* (one who has high levels of identification of Americanness and is politically active) and

the *apolitical citizen* (one who has low levels of identification of Americanness and is politically passive).

Muslim Americans as a subject of study

Muslim Americans are an integral component of the social fabric of the Wayne County, Michigan. As will be explained further in chapter 2, Muslim Americans participated in labor struggles, were pivotal in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements in Detroit, more specifically, Black Muslims helped to define the meaning and interpretation of black militancy (Harper, 1971). Finally, there is growing recognition of the bravery and patriotic contributions of Muslim American veterans of World War II¹. Focusing on Muslim American opinion leaders in Wayne County is politically relevant because of the focus Muslim-Americans are given in national and international media. Conflicts in the Middle East, such as both Iraq wars, Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, military action in Afghanistan, the Drone policies in Pakistan, the sanctions on Iran and in particular the overarching Arab-Israeli conflict which dominates regional Middle Eastern politics, contribute to the ongoing stereotyping of Arab and Muslim Americans. The negative and stereotypical portrayal of Muslim Americans by prominent scholars and media personalities, questioning the patriotism of Muslims Americans, has intensified since 9/11. For example, Ann Coulter, an American politically and socially conservative columnist and lawyer, made the claim that the Boston Marathon Bomber's wife should be jailed for wearing the hijab, or Islamic head scarf². Regardless of the identity of the woman at question, she essentially made the claim that all women wearing a headscarf were deemed worthy of jail. Similarly, Michele Bachman's claims that the Muslim

¹ See Arab American National Museum's Patriotism Exhibit.

² http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/23/ann-coulter-hijab_n_3139513.html

Brotherhood³ had infiltrated the American government and that this posed a threat to national security⁴. Moreover, Dave Agema Republican congressional member of Michigan's 74th district, questioned whether Muslims have ever contributed to American culture (Detroit Free Press, January 24, 2014)⁵. Undergirding Agema's statement is the felt belief that Muslim-Americans, unlike Jews, Protestants and Catholics, are incapable of expanding democratic principles, values, and norms. He thus deems Muslim Americans as noncontributing citizens, thereby categorizing them as unpatriotic and disloyal. This type of political commentary, from a prominent political leader has the potential of stimulating fear mongering and witch-hunts.

This is not surprising, considering that both nationalism and patriotism (forms of social identification) "increase in response to an outside threat" (Li and Brewer, 728). Li and Brewer explain that "The 9/11 attacks resulted in immediate, visibly evident increases in expressions of national identification and unity throughout the United States". New immigrant groups, whose religious worldview is substantively different from the Protestant narrative, have had to engage in political battles to earn the right or privilege to be seen as American. James Morone suggests in *Hellfire Nation*, that immigrant groups are often seen as a threat to the nation, such as Catholics as a moral threat, German-Americans after WWI, Japanese Americans after WWII, and Arab Americans after 9/11. This threat after 9/11, places increased focus, fear, and scrutiny on Muslim and Arab Americans. An unfortunate result of this heightened sense of national threat is the framing of Muslim Americans as 'outsiders' and potential threats to the American and

³ The Muslim Brotherhood is a social organization that was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan El-Banna as a response to Western influence on Muslims.

⁴ <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/politics/story/2012-07-20/bachmann-brotherhood-comments/56370300/1>

⁵ <http://www.freep.com/article/20140124/NEWS06/301240071/Dave-Agema-resignation-GOP>

Western way of life. For many Muslim Americans, in a post 9/11 United States, one has to provide proof of one's loyalty to the nation and obvious belief in the American way of life. However, Muslim Americans are not a “new immigrant group”. That is why Muslim Americans have received criticism prior to 9/11 and has been intensified by it. Old arguments (prior to 9/11) such as Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilization* thesis and Edward Said's *Orientalism* re-manifested and spoke of the binarism that exists (and existed) between Muslims versus (which I use loosely here) the West; almost as though they are naturally paradoxical. Tomaz Mastnak explains that Islamophobia is not a new phenomenon, despite its recent appearance and domination in Western media (2010, 29); but rather it was something that emerged when Christian views of Muslims began to change in the mid-ninth century, during the “martyrs of Cordoba” incident, which represented an “anxiety over the loss of Christian identity” (2010, 31). Jack Shaheen's study, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*, reviews films dating back to the early twentieth century that cultivates many negative stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims, conflating the two together as “brute murderers, sleazy rapists, religious fanatics, oil-rich dimwits, and abusers of women” (2001, 3). Furthermore, issues like the 'Ground Zero mosque' debate, the 'anti-shariah law' bill proposals, the Patriot Act and the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA)⁶, and the New York Police Department (NYPD) spying on college Muslim Student Associations are attempts to undercut, isolate, and further marginalize the Muslim American communities across the nation. Not only do these aforementioned policies profile and target a specified community (i.e. Muslim Americans) but they further restrict the basic rights of the unhyphenated American,

⁶ The NDAA 2012 is a federal law that allows extension of governmental support in counter-terrorism activities; a policy in which the ACLU has argued that overreaches its bounds because it “codifies indefinite military detention without charge or trial” <http://www.aclu.org/blog/tag/ndaa>

contributing to the erosion of the Bill of Rights. Moreover, it also assumes that Muslim Americans are a homogenous population lacking the intellectual, cultural and social diversity that one finds among self-identifying Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish Americans.

At the same time, one cannot discount the increased amounts of interfaith discussions, Lupe Fiasco's popularity (as well as many other Muslim-American artists), and most recently TLC's television program "All-American Muslim" as clear indications of acceptance and incorporation of Muslim Americans into the "American" family. Even as far as the competition for Muslim families in the Highland Park, Michigan public school system indicates a level attempts to incorporate (Howell, 2010). To display Muslim American "Americanness" stories such as NPR's *Tell Me More* segment aired a piece titled "What it Means to be American" featuring two Muslim American woman who discussed their identities and their patriotism⁷. Gallup conducted multiple studies that focused on Muslim Americans and their political, social, and spiritual engagement particularly after September 11th. This seemingly paradoxical nature of treatment of Muslim Americans, of attraction and threat, is one that has been discussed by various authors. Shryock describes it as "Islamophobia and Islamophilia" (2010) then goes on to include nine different narratives of this binary in his anthology. Gilles Kepler calls it "fascination and revulsion" (2003, 21) towards Islam. Sir Wilfred Thesiger described Arab bedouins as "noble savages" (2008, Jackson 341). Nancy Beth Jackson describes the depiction of Arabs, particularly Gulf Arabs, as "exotic and erotic" while also "menacing" (2011, 342).

⁷ <http://www.npr.org/2011/07/04/137561900/what-it-means-to-be-american>

Due to this tension, a simultaneous pull of attraction and threat of Muslim-American identity in the American 'theater,' we find attempts to define America's interaction with Muslims and Arabs in America (Howell and Shryock, 2003), attempts to measure Muslim-American levels of patriotism (Suhay et al 2010), and questions of imperative patriotism amongst Arab and Muslim Americans post 9/11 (Salaita, 2005). The in-group identity of Muslim Americans serve as an out-group threat to scholars, political pundits, or political and religious leaders that define American patriotism as either the exclusive property in religious terms, of Judeo-Christian Americans; as well as those who define patriotism in largely racial terms; one has to be an Anglo-American to be a true patriot. This may be particularly true of conservative media elites⁸ who reinforce the anti-Muslim bias of their intended audience. According to Marguerite Mortiz, the print and electronic media frames "Islam as a threat because such a tactic keeps U.S. media on the patriotic side of the debate and on the side of power" (2011, 352). Furthermore, "anti-Arab and anti-Islam images and texts resonate with U.S. audiences because that frame not only fits neatly into established stereotypes but also provides an easy way to reduce complex issues into simplified stores of good guys versus bad" (2011, 352).

The tension between attraction and threat may indeed have moved more toward the *threat* dimension with the advent of President Bush and President Obama's war on terror and military policies directed at largely Arab nations with large Muslim populations (Shryock 2010). The heavy emphasis on the *threat* dimension is consistent with prior wartime political values and beliefs about what constitutes the true American

⁸ Take, for example, Glenn Beck's documentary in *TheBlaze* that argues of the Muslim Brotherhood's infiltration of the American government.

patriot. Take the case of German Americans during World War I where the Internal Bureau of Investigation closely monitored German American organizations. There were charges of disloyalty, and indeed, posters of the dangerous “Hun” helped mobilize volunteers to go abroad to save democracy from the ‘uncivilized Hun threat’⁹. Equally important, German Americans could not publicly speak out against the Babel Proclamation (Gavrilos, 2010). Similarly, we can take the case of Japanese Americans and their detention after Pearl Harbor. *Koremastu v. US* (1944) is illustrative of what can happen when two separate branches of government, the executive and courts decide that it is better to forgo due process and imprison Japanese American citizens.¹⁰ This is a case of majority tyranny-institutionalized racism as well as fear of the out-group made it possible for the terror dimension to shape public policy. Nevertheless, it imperative that we not forget that Koremastu’s basic argument was that he was a loyal American and therefore should be granted the same rights, immunities and privileges of any ordinary American citizen. In order to demonstrate loyalty most Japanese Americans went to the detention camps and a significant number of young men joined the Army and fought in the European theater.

Yet, more than any ethnic group, the “Muslim American” identity as stated encompasses a larger spectrum of people in which, according to Howell, “identity projects require Muslims to collaborate across racial and ethnic lines, across classes, across urban and suburban boundaries, across sectarian divides, and across the gaps that

⁹ One example can be found at http://www.cartographicarts.com/catalog.html?cat=antique_prints&id=2&subcat=PATRIOTIC&PHPS ESSID=7c95bb5da2113130ccadf43a6cb9cc9d

¹⁰ This is evidenced by the issuing of the Executive Order 9066 in 1942, which deported Japanese Americans into internment camps. The executive order begins by stating “Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities”.

separate immigrants and their children from those with deeper American roots” (2010, 229). This makes Muslim Americans different than other hyphenated identities because of the various ethnic ties. This leads to complications when speaking of “gradations of otherness” where, according to Howell and Shryock, “‘bad’ Islam. is associated not only with fanaticism, but symbolically and spatially, with Arabs, the Middle East, and the ‘cultures’ found there,”(2003, 454) as opposed to Muslims from Asia and Africa and sizable populations of Muslims found in “the former Soviet Union, China, North and South America and Europe” (2003, 455). While it is clear that Muslim Americans have diverse roots ethnically when born Muslim, another major factor is that of conversion. Currently, Islam is the fastest growing religion because of the high rate of conversion, in which the Pew Forum Research Center found that between 1990-2010, “the global Muslim population increased at an average annual rate of 2.2%” nevertheless, they projected that between 2010-2030 a lower rate of conversion of 1.5% (2011, 13). This posits Muslims in direct competition over converts with Evangelicals.

The commentary on Muslim Americans from the American public should elicit some sort of response from Muslim Americans. However, it is critical for scholars, journalists, political leaders, as well as university professors to recognize the complexity which exist among self-identifying Muslim American opinion leaders. Therefore, either people will respond on their behalf, such as Nathan Lean’s aforementioned op-ed article. Or the Pew study that finds that Muslim Americans are just like all other middle class Americans and part of the mainstream, such as their rejection of extremism, their willingness to assimilate in American society, as well as their belief in the Alger myth

that working hard in America pays off¹¹. Documentaries have been made, especially in regards to Muslim American experiences prior and post 9/11, such as PBS's program *America at a Crossroads: The Muslim Americans*.¹² In order to normalize presence of certain groups in America, mainstream television shows include a character from varying backgrounds. Starting in the 1950s, African American characters were included, first as comedic relief for white actors, such as Rochester in the Jack Benny comedy, black protest politics in the 1960s led Hollywood to produce black centered comedies, such as *Sanford and Son* and *The Cosby Show* in the 1980s. Recently, mainstream television shows have attempted to incorporate quirky and unique Muslim personalities, as to normalize their presence, such as Abed Nadir in the television show, *Community* or Arastoo Vaziri on the television show *Bones*. These all show attempts to incorporate Muslim Americans into the mainstream. However, this is being done by people from the "out-group".

Some Muslim Americans have begun responding over time. As referenced earlier, NPR interviewed two Muslim American female authors Jaleelah Medina and Hadia Mubarak about their patriotism, their faith and their identity. They had contributed to a series of essays called "I Speak for Myself" which allows for Muslim Americans to do as the title suggests, speak for themselves, as opposed to the media or anyone else for that matter. Another attempt being made by Muslim Americans are studies being conducted by the Institute of Social Policy and Understand (ISPU). Although this organization is not exclusively Muslim, its main focus is on Muslims, particularly in America and was founded by a group of Muslims in Michigan. One example of this is a study conducted by

¹¹ <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2007/05/22/muslim-americans-middle-class-and-mostly-mainstream/>

¹² http://www.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/about/show_muslim_americans.html

Farid Senzai *Engaging American Muslims: Political Trends and Attitudes*. It is important to note that Muslim Americans are responding directly to criticism and providing their own perspective on breaking political events or news.

Who defines Muslim Americans?

The concept of double-consciousness is one in which a person of a minority group is forced to see themselves through the eyes of a dominant political narrative. W.E. B. Du Bois explained that double-consciousness was “a peculiar sensation,” he continued to explain that it was “this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideas in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 1903). Although, the black American experience is unique in itself, Muslim Americans too can speak about double consciousness, in particular opinion leaders constantly are forced to confront the negative perceptions of their group in an age when print, broadcast, and social media is immediately updated and bombarding society with positive as well as negative images. Muslim Americans are forced to define themselves in reaction to what has been previously assumed about them or blasted in the media, conveyed in print through authors such as Robert Spencer, revealed through congressional hearings such as Representative King’s on Islamic radicalization, the NYPD spying on Muslim Student Associations and so forth. These various facets and particularly nationally prominent public opinion leaders utilize the print and broadcast media to frame Muslim American identity, and as seen earlier in the chapter, in a negative and threatening light.

Furthermore, the self-produced responses from Muslim Americans are few in the face of media criticism and not many speak in depth of how one perceives their own Americanness in contrast to how they are framed in mainstream. Few public opinion leaders have the courage to openly defend as well comment about the contributions Muslim Americans are making toward positively reshaping the American character. President Obama, did so in his speech in Cairo, Egypt (June 4, 2009) and in another regarding Ramadan (July 20, 2012). Comedian Jon Stewart, often runs segments in his *Daily Show* mocking the logic of public opinion leaders who criticize Islam and Muslims¹³.

The problem at hand is that there are these competing and conflicting narratives, one of the mainstream criticisms towards Muslim Americans, which is the more influential narrative and the responses that have been made on behalf of Muslim Americans or by Muslim Americans themselves. These narratives are problematic because both want and attempt to paint social and political reality with different strokes; the former, that Muslim Americans are a problem and should be watched and monitored; and the latter, that Muslim Americans are like any other social group striving toward and hoping to achieve economic security and happiness. More research needs to explore the thinking of Muslim Americans and how they perceive themselves vis-à-vis their identity in America, taking into account both the reactionary nature of this definition, due to the initial criticisms, as well as the inherent definitions that stand alone, away from the inherent criticisms, while considering the nuances of individuals and the community as a whole. It is in this light that I use the “perspectival approach” in defining what it means to be an American or a patriot for Muslim Americans.

¹³ These segments usually revolved around the Ground Zero Mosque debate.

Conceptualization of Patriotism

This research project, utilizes MacIntyre's conceptualization of patriotism, not merely love of one's country above all others, but a particularist patriotism (as opposed to a universalist patriotism) that recognizes the obligations that one perceives from their group attachments. Universalist patriotism, on the other hand, requires an individual to be indifferent to their position and attachments to their group (MacIntyre, 1984). MacIntyre's conceptualization is significant for this research project insofar as Muslim Americans are forced into two politically relevant categorizations: Muslims and American. I contend, that to deny the Muslim identity's influence on one's patriotism, results in an “emasculated patriotism” (MacIntyre, 1984). “Emasculated patriotism” essentially refers to the impossibility of achieving true patriotism, which was associated with blind loyalty. This is because loyalty, for MacIntyre is essentially irrational, and for one to engage in patriotism that is rational and critical towards government, they are forced to have constrained loyalty, thereby making patriotism emasculated. Hence, in the case of Muslim American opinion leaders, engagement is imperative in order to balance the political tension between particularist and universal senses of loyalty. The conceptual meaning and analysis of patriotism in this study will be contingent upon the interviewees’ interpretation of patriotism, which emerges during the interview process.

Survey Data and Literature on Muslim American Patriotism

Li and Brewer (2004) conducted a survey few weeks after September 11 tragedy in which they studied the distinction between patriotism and nationalism, in which attitudes towards (or distance to) cultural diversity was studied on a scale of -6 to +6 (higher the score indicating a larger distance). They found that white Americans found

themselves to have an overall distance to Blacks at 1.3, to Asians at 1.44, and to Muslims at 1.96 (in which the distance means were 1.90 and 2.01 for essence and common-goals, respectively) (2004, 734). Huddy and Khatib (2007) studied the various forms of patriotism as shifted from 1996 to 2004/2006; they suggested that “a national identity scale” may prove to be an important (and nonideological) addition to research on the study of political participation very generally by different fabrics of the US ethnic groups, however, they did not include Islam/Muslims in their analysis despite the media's undeniable priming in American society. Howell and Shryock (2003) wrote an essay about the transnational ties between Arabs or Muslim American diasporas to their respective countries. They reported that transnational ties are only acceptable if they strengthen ties or social reproducibility in the United States and are subject to the American sovereignty. If they are found to be opposing certain American foreign policies, then non-citizens are intimidated by intelligence agencies or forced to leave and citizens would be dragged through the mud in the media, courts, legal cases and so forth¹⁴.

Much of the discourse in mainstream media revolving Muslim Americans are dominated by the views of people outside that categorization. One example is the 2007 Pew study on Muslim Americans described the various demographics of Muslim Americans (65% foreign born, 35% native born), their perceptions of the American Dream, “71% of Muslim Americans agree that most people who want to get ahead in the U.S. can make it if they are willing to work hard” (Pew 2007, 7), whether immigrant muslims should “adopt American customs,” “try to remain distinct,” “both,” or “neither” (Pew 2007, 8), the impact of 9/11 on their lives (Pew 2007, 10), or their views about

14 Two major cases being USA vs. Al-Arian and Shakir Hamoodi.

terrorism or extremism (Pew 2007, 11). By conducting interviews of opinion leaders, one may come to understand the nuances of these results and discover deeper and more complex explanations. Furthermore, those who conduct interviews with Muslim Americans may not be familiar with the cultural nuances of the Muslim community, and may misunderstand norms in association with a negative symbol. For example, it is not uncommon in Muslim culture, to avoid eye contact, because many Muslims believe in the literal practice of “lowering the gaze” in the context of dealing with the opposite gender is a form respect. In the mainstream American custom, averting one's gaze is associated with lying, withholding information and so forth. Furthermore, it may be effective to be a member of the “in-group” of Muslim Americans conducting the interviews in order to detect for masking. If one feels threatened by the interviewer (such as being an 'outsider'), they may not be as forthright in speaking about the issues they would otherwise half talk about in their 'private' circles.

This survey data is important because it provides cues of how the mass public and leaders, those who are politically and socially active define what it means to be an American. The survey data provides a broad framework for tapping key questions that allow one to measure specific dimensions of patriotism and Americanness, but it does not provide a conceptual framework for patriotism. Therefore, it is important to note that the tension between the two, faith and nation, is always present. Indeed, this idea is one that has been found among dissenters in the United States, religious activists against slavery, for women's rights, civil rights, gay rights, and so forth¹⁵. Hence, while taking into account this tension between faith and nation, prototypical patriotism includes two

¹⁵ Take for example, Alfred E. Smith's letter in *The Atlantic* “Catholic and Patriot” (1928) in which he discusses the debate surrounding his patriotism due to his faith.

components, an identification with nation and actions carried out of a sense of duty and obligation to this identification. The prototypical patriotism has an agency component, allowing for various degrees of patriotism, thereby formulating different classifications and archetypes of patriotism contingent upon identification action. No typology is flawless, however in order to be thorough, this study divides identification in the following way: High levels of American identification, moderate levels of American identification, and low levels of American identification. These varying levels of identification are contrasted based upon action towards identification: whether a person is active or passive. For example, the prototypical patriot, in this typology, would be one who has high levels of American identification while being active in terms of instrumental activities to conventional politics¹⁶. Whereas, one who has high levels of American identification but is passive¹⁷ would be considered as symbolically patriotic. It is important to note that because this study is “perspectival,” interviewees may consider themselves to be activists due to being engaged in non-conventional politics, such as protest¹⁸.

Geographical Scope

Interviews will be conducted in Wayne County, Michigan. Wayne County includes major cities such as Detroit, Hamtramck, Dearborn, Redford, Livonia, Canton, Romulus, Garden City, South gate, and Canton. One can find that different groupings of people reside in these areas. Detroit has many Black American Muslims. Dearborn contains many Arab Muslims, both of Shiite and Sunni orientation. Hamtramck contains

16 Conventional politics being voting, petitioning, contacting representatives etc.

17 Does not engage in conventional politics – i.e. does not vote, etc.

18 Take for example, Thoreau and his work *Civil Disobedience*, or John Brown's raid on Harper Ferry. Both considered their actions to be prompted by a sense of duty to true American values.

many Yemeni and Bengali Muslims. Canton includes many South Asian Muslims¹⁹²⁰. Previous studies have been conducted in regards to Muslim Americans in Detroit and Dearborn (Wigle 1974, Aswad 1974, Abraham 1983, Shryock 2002, Belton 2003, Bagby 2004, Haddad 2004, Salaita 2005, Leonard 2005, Howell and Shryock 2007, Shryock 2010, Howell 2011, Bilici 2011, etc). Furthermore, Wayne County contains a very large range of socioeconomic groupings, ranging from poorer communities to more affluent and upper middle class communities. Wayne County also has a strong history of religion and its interaction in the public sphere. For example, the Nation of Islam was founded in Detroit in 1930 (Turner, 2003). There has been a strong and viable role of ministers in the civil rights movement in Detroit, such as the contributions of Rev. Charles A. Hill, Sr. and Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr. (Dillard, 2007). Also, the large collection of Arab (and Muslim) Americans in Dearborn, has compelling implications in terms of history, institution building, and community development in the American context. Therefore, Wayne County has a significant history in terms of religious (and racial) minorities negotiating identity and Americanness. It provides for a heightened and concentrated experience of religion, race and patriotism that is particular and intrinsic for Wayne County; while being simultaneously very diverse and representative of many groups across the United States. Wayne County is unique for multiple reasons: first, it is where the founding of the Nation of Islam occurred, which allows potential for conversion of Black Americans; second, immigration of Muslim Americans for factory work

19 See The Muslim American Public Opinion Survey (MAPOS) 2006-2008 respondents national demographics: US Born 38%, Foreign Born 62%, Non-citizen 28%, Arab 51%, Asian 22%, Black 11%, White 8%, Sunni 61%, Shi'a 18%.

http://www.muslimamericansurvey.org/papers/Muslim_PID.pdf

20 See Pew Study respondent demographics: US Born 35%, Foreign Born 65%, Non-citizen 23%, Arab 40%, Asian 20%, Black 26%, White 11%, Sunni 50%, Shi'a 16%.

(especially in the auto industry) and contributes to interfaith community activism; third, post 9/11 investigations that targeted Muslim American mosques.

Implications of this study

This study seeks to expand the definition of patriotism, pointing to the importance of self-defined conceptions of patriotism and American identity. In some studies, patriotism is associated with “love of one's own country related to secure in-group identification and independent of out-group derogation,” where as nationalism is associated with “insecure in-group identification and intergroup differentiation, including the view that one's own country is superior to others and thus should be dominant” (Li and Brewer 2004). Other reports, like that of Huddy and Khatib's (2007), serve to distinguish between different strands of patriotism and nationalism. This study may introduce the idea of measuring patriotism based on how it is defined by the person being measured. Therefore, if patriotism is seen as a negative quality, then the person defining it thus is likely to distance him/herself from it. In contrast, if patriotism is seen as a positive quality, then one is likely to associate more closely to it.

Also, this study will shed light on the perceptions of Muslim Americans on themselves and on their role in defining Americanness or an ideology of patriotism. Much research, such as survey data, does not give an in-depth discussion of the identification of Americanness of Muslim Americans. This study will, re-pave the way for interview based and qualitative research when measuring for political identity. In order to understand Americanness and investigate the political identities of Muslim Americans, then it is essential to understand the particulars (as well as the generalizations) of the individuals ascribing to such an identity.

This proposed investigation allows for the possibility of future studies exploring the reflexive activity between communities and their opinion leaders. Wassim Tarraf's dissertation *Muslim Americans: The Role of Religion in Structuring their Civic and Political Attitudes and Behavior*, found that 1) higher levels of religiosity did not present a negative association with political engagement; 2) that communal religiosity increased the odds of participation; 3) political religiosity was positively linked to selective acts of political involvement (especially political protest); 4) discounted ideas of 'Islamic exceptionalism' in contrast to democratic practices (2010, 162-163). Tarraf ends his book by suggesting that future study "should identify and probe the attitudes and beliefs of Muslim leaders. Many interesting questions could be answered by linking leadership positions to mass Muslim opinion and behavior" (2010, 164). It is here in which the study of opinion leadership perfectly fits the study of Muslim American and their political identities. The interview process, because leaders tend to be fewer than their laity, may be more effective than a mass survey. By looking at the context of metropolitan Detroit and conducting in depth discussions with Muslim American opinion leaders, this may help increase our understanding of the political life of Muslim Americans and by proxy of that the identification with Americanness that the laity may engage in. If political activism is positively associated with patriotism, then would it not be assumed that Muslims are patriotic or have high levels of Americanness? Furthermore, in his research, Tarraf found that Muslim American involvement in political activism revolved around political protest and scholars like Ralph Young, have asserted that "dissent is American" (2007).

This study may allow for a future study of the reflexive activity between communities and their opinion leaders, to measure how much community members feel that their opinion leaders may influence their decision making, thought processes.

Chapters' Overview

This study will be organized in the following way: **Chapter one** is the introductory chapter explaining the background and purpose of the study. It will include a discussion of the problem, how patriotism is defined by Muslim Americans; as well as a discussion of the subject of study, Muslim Americans. **Chapter two** includes a detailed description of the Muslim American experience and contributions both nationally and locally in Detroit. **Chapter three** is an overarching literature review that will discuss the concept of patriotism and its evolution in America in three phases, Eighteen to Twentieth century patriotism, twentieth to twenty-first century patriotism, and post-9/11 patriotism. **Chapter four** contains a description of the research methodology and design, which is an oral history approach asking opinion leaders to describe their perspectives of what it means to be an American, what patriotism means and whether they ascribe patriotism to themselves, and a discussion of the context in which these opinion leaders find themselves to be in. **Chapter five** covers an explanation of the results of the interviews, looking at commonalities and differences in how participants define patriotism and Americanness. It explores the nuances of inherent and reactionary definitions. It analyzes the nuances that play into how participants perceive these concepts. It explores the link between religious identity and how that affects one's Americanness and patriotism. **Chapter six** begins with a self-analysis as a participant observer of the study. It also discusses the major themes that emerge from the data, such as patriotism as being an

active process, patriotism being equivalent to being American, as well as patriotism as not being blind. It suggests policies to incorporate Muslims Americans into the political processes. Finally, it looks into future prospective studies.

CHAPTER 2: ISLAM IN DETROIT

The history of Islam and Muslims in the metropolitan Detroit area is long and complex. In fact, Muslims in Detroit have “multiple histories” (Shryock, 2004). Moreover, despite the fact that Dearborn holds the largest number of Arabs in the United States outside of the Middle East, the majority of Arabs in metropolitan Detroit are Christian, more specifically, 58% are Christian and 42% are Muslim (Detroit Arab American Study, 2003). Furthermore, metropolitan Detroit hosts varying ethnic communities that happen to be Muslim. According to the Detroit Mosque study, “over three-fourths of all Detroit mosques are multiethnic” (Bagby, 17), meaning that the majority of mosques are not ethnically segregated. The ethnic breakdown of mosque participants was 41% South Asian, 26% Arab, 11% African American, and 11% other ethnicities that include, African, Southeast Asian, North and South American countries, as well as Turkey (Bagby, 22). It is important to note that despite the fact that Arab Muslims do not constitute the majority of Muslims, let alone Arabs, much of the research on metropolitan Detroit happens to focus on Arab Americans. Therefore, it must be clarified, that although the research covered in this chapter will mostly reflect Arab Americans, the narrative of Islam and Muslims in metropolitan Detroit is what is sought after.

It is important to capture the nuance of metropolitan Detroit, while understanding the trend of Islam in America. This chapter will be organized in the following way: First, an overarching and brief discussion of the history of Islam in America; Second, a more particularized discussion of Islam in Detroit; Third, a brief explanation of where the

Muslim American experience falls into; Lastly, contemporary studies that link political activism and Muslims.

History of Islam in America

John Esposito explains in *Muslims' Place in the American Public Square* that Islam's history in America occurred in five main stages: The first stage was the pre-Columbian (prior to Columbus's arrival), in which various figures such as Mansa Abu Bakar II from Mali who led an exhibition across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World (Esposito, xvi). Other records cite other personalities, such as Anthony Jansen van Salee "the Turk" (Roberts, 1972; Ghanesabassiri, 2010, pp.9), and Estevanico Dorantes, "a black Arab originally from Azamor (Morocco)" (de Vaca, 1906; Ghanesabassiri, 2010 pp. 10). Others sources site the presence of Islam in the pre-Columbian stage through the linguistic ties between Natives of Mexico and the Muslims of North Africa (Weiner, 1922; Esposito, 2004 xvi).

The second stage was the antebellum period in America, citing the arrival of American slaves from Africa who were Muslim (Austin, 1984; Esposito xvii). The earliest arrival of Muslim slaves was to Hispaniola in 1502 from Seville, Spain who survived the Spanish Inquisition (Turner, 11). Most of the Muslims that arrived to America during this stage were primarily of North and West African ancestry (Ghanesabassiri, 15). It has been estimated that "tens of thousands" of Muslims from Africa lived in antebellum America (Gomez, 22), some of which who could read and write the Arabic language, knew verses from the Quran, and maintained their faith²¹. Ghanesabassiri points out that some black Muslims were "de-negrofied" and "de-

²¹ Such as Lamine Kaba, who had the Quran memorized by heart prior to his enslavement and was well versed in the hermeneutics and exegesis of the Quran (Siddik, 1836).

Islamicized”, especially when they attained their freedom. During this stage, some Christian missionaries viewed slavery as having brought Christianity and civilization to ‘savage’ Africans, thereby shifting slavery from being a ‘necessary evil’ to a ‘positive good’ in the South (Ghanesabassiri, 46). Practice of Islam among enslaved African Muslims was often an individual experience. This is mainly because it was difficult to develop a faith community when constrained by slavery. Although some slave communities were able to maintain some Islamic rituals, such as prayer, supplication, and remembrance (Ghanesabassiri, 72-75).

The third stage was the postbellum period until the end of World War II, where he explained the various waves of immigration to the United States and in particular the arrival of Arab Muslims (Esposito xviii). However, Ghanesabassiri explains that census data in America studying immigration was unreliable due to problematic categorizations. He explains that there is no accurate way to knowing the number of Muslims in the United States during that period, because data regarding immigrants from Muslim majority regions were inconsistent. He provides the example that “prior to 1899, immigration officials lumped Syrians, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, and anyone else from the Asian Ottoman territories under the rubric of ‘Turkey in Asia’” (Ghanesabassiri ;137). Also, he explains that there were some attempts to categorize immigrants based on religious affiliations, as depicted by the *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration and Education* (1901) which claimed that 110 ‘Mohammedans’ arrive in the United States in 1899 by ship, most of which were from “parts of Europe normally not associated with Islam” (Ghanesabassiri; 138). Muslims during this period came from many backgrounds; among them were Yemeni, Turkish, Kurdish, Bosnians Albanians, Indians,

and so forth (Ghanesbassiri, 135-152). Ghanesbassiri concludes that by the mid-1920's, roughly 60,000 Muslims immigrated to the United States.

The fourth stage was the post World War II period which lasted right before September 11th. This period, like the former period, experienced another wave of immigration. However, Esposito explains that this stage was marked by three significant happenings: A) the opening of America to third world countries, thereby allowing more immigration, and in the case of Muslims, from Muslim majority nations; B) the decision of American leaders to host the newly created United Nations in New York, which allowed leaders from Muslim nations to attend; C) the granting of scholarships and financial support for students from Africa, Asia and Latin America to study in American centers of learning, which brought many Muslim students to study in America.

The fifth stage was the post-9/11 period, which began with the events of 9/11 until the current period (Esposito, 2004). The post-9/11 period has been described as “the Terror Decade”. This “Terror Decade” has been one that was stimulated by fear external as well as internal to Muslim Americans. Shryock, Abraham and Howell describe the “Terror Decade” as one,

in which many Americans believed they could be attacked by terrorists at any moment; Arab and Muslim Americans believed other Americans thought they were terrorists or terrorist sympathizers; and Arab and Muslims living outside the United states... faced economic sanctions, military invasions, missile and unmanned drone attacks, covert operations, targeted killings, authorized kidnappings, travel restrictions, and other actions undertaken by the U.S. governments and its allies. In short, the Terror Decade was a time in which national security was persistently defined as something Arabs and Muslims threaten, and this definition placed serious constraints on how Arab and Muslim Americans could identify as U.S. citizens” (Shryock, Abraham, Howell, 3).

History of Islam in Metropolitan Detroit

The history of Islam in metropolitan Detroit is as unique as the history of Detroit itself. Detroit Muslims were part of integral Detroit experiences in terms of economics, race, and religion. Muslims migrated to Detroit both as Arab immigrants from the Middle East as well as African-American Muslims from the south to work during the boom of the automobile industry and Henry Ford's factories. Muslim Americans were part of the racial experiences of Detroit, through the formation of the Moorish Science Temple, founded by Timothy Drew in 1913; as well as the founding of the Nation of Islam, in 1930; both as manifestations of 'black religion' in America and both finding their inception in Detroit, Michigan. However, the main purpose of initial Muslim migration to Detroit was for economic opportunities.

According to Jack Glazier and Arthur W. Helweg, Muslim migration to Michigan began as early as 1880, assuming that their record of Arabic speakers who migrated to Michigan includes Muslims. One could argue that Muslim presence in Michigan could have been earlier, considering the African American presence was noted to be as early as 1700, although the data does not corroborate whether Muslims were part of the African American presence.

2.1 Table – Muslim ethnic groups in Michigan²²

Ethnic Group	Year of Migration to Michigan
African Americans	1840-1880s; 1940s to present; present as early as 1700.
Africans	1970s-present
Albanians	1945-1960s
Arabic Speakers, including the following countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq,	1880-present

²² This table is formulated based on the Michigan Ethnic Group data found in Jack Glazier and Arthur W. Helweg's book *Ethnicity in Michigan: Issues and People*, 2001, pp. 51-65. However, their data does not fully consider Muslim migration, because it is limited in its scope to "Turks, Kurds" and people from "Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria". This chart includes other ethnic groups that contain a large Muslim population.

Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Qatar, Saudia Arabia, Oman, Syria, Tunisia, UAE, Yemen	
Asian Indians	1920s; 1970s to present
Bangladesh	1970s to present
Bosnian Muslims	1900s, 1940s
Iranians	1960s to 1970s
Moroccans ²³	1950s
Muslims, including the following: Turks, Kurds from Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria	1900-1914; 1940s
Pakistanis	1970s
Turks	1903-1920s; 1940s

For most of these groups two major reasons were commented on for the purpose of their migration Political turmoil and the felt belief that the United States offered far more economic opportunities are the major factors explaining the migration decision made by Muslims whom left their homeland. The former was associated with all groups excluding South Asians; the latter, being associated with Asian Indians, Pakistanis, and Bengalis. Glazier and Helweg note that the Muslim group was “mostly incorporated into American culture” (Glazier and Helweg, 62).

However, other sources should some discrepancies. For example, Barbara Aswad and Barbara Bilge cited that “Informal sources reveal that a small number of Bangladeshis of basically working class background jumped ship in Detroit in the 1930s and 1940s and took up various occupations ranging from shopkeeper to security guard” (Aswad and Bilge, 1996, 158). This “informal source” indicates that Bengali Muslims have been present in the United States thirty to forty years prior to Glazier and Helweg’s data. Another source points to the presence of Bengali Muslims in Detroit in as early as the 1920s, in which “among these early immigrants were some Bengali Muslim men who

²³ Moroccans were included because they are a Muslim majority nation. However, it is noted that the Moroccans who migrated to Michigan happen to be of mostly Jewish descent (Glazier and Helweg, 62).

ended up marrying African American women” (Helweg 15, 2002). This is significant because interracial marriages also contributed to the development of a particular experience of American Islam.

Middle Eastern immigration to Detroit started as early as 1880, but “by 1907, some immigrants (Arab) were working for Henry Ford in his automobile factory in Highland Park, Michigan” (Curtis, 4). Moreover, Ford’s Sociological Department counted 555 Arab men as employees by 1916 (Curtis, 4). The automobile industry was one of the main reasons Arab populations initially migrated to metropolitan Detroit, eventually forming the largest Arab American community outside of the Middle East in Dearborn.

Although the American Muslim Society, also known as the Dearborn Mosque, is the oldest mosque in Michigan founded in 1937, it is not the first mosque that was built. In 1919, the Lebanese Muslim community built a mosque in as early as 1919. Muslim organizations were formulating as well. In 1920, Turkish immigrants established the Red Crescent in Detroit, which is the Muslim equivalent to the Red Cross (Curtis, 41). Varying manifestation of Islamic movements emerged and in one of its earliest formulations in America, as Black Nationalist movements. As mentioned earlier, the Moorish Science Temple, an offshoot of Islam, was established in 1913. Timothy Drew made the claim that black Americans were biologically and historically Muslim. In 1930, the Nation of Islam, was also founded in Detroit by W.D. Fard Muhammad, which “promoted the idea that Islam was the original religion of the ‘Blackman’” (Curtis, 43), whereas Christianity was “the White man’s religion” (Jackson, 201). Sherman Jackson points to the need to understand Islam among African Americans in the context of “Black

religion”; in which the “most enduring feature of Black religion is its sustained and radical opposition to racial oppression” (Jackson, 2006). It was in this context the Noble Drew Ali and Elijah Muhammad had been appropriating Islam.

Albanians migrated to metropolitan Detroit in 1945, mainly to flee the communist takeover in Yugoslavia. Upon arriving to Detroit, they established the Albanian American Moslem Association (Curtis, 40). Later in 1963, the Albanian Islamic Center was built in 1963 in Harper Woods, Michigan. The Albanian community did not only establish a traditional community center and mosque, but established the first Sufi order branch in Michigan, *Bektashi Tekke*, by the 1950s, diversifying the types of Muslim practices in Michigan (Curtis, 41).

In 1966, Abdo ElKholy conducted a religious-ethnographic study on Arab Moslems, in which he studied the theory of negative correlation between religion and assimilation. He argues that “assimilation of an immigrant group (was) not necessarily hindered by adherence to an original religion differing from the adopted culture” (ElKholy, 16). ElKohly conducted a comparative study between Toledo and Detroit Muslims. He found that due to the social conditions in Detroit, being auto-factory workers, as opposed to Toledo’s business owners, Arab Muslims were less assimilation and contributed to the creation of a “ghetto-like community” in Dearborn. ElKholy pointed to the presence of 100,000 Muslims which excluded the 70,000 members of the Nation of Islam (ElKholy, 25). ElKholy points to the mosque as a place to transmit cultural and religious values and teachings of Islam. Moreover, it was in Sunday school where Muslims learned “how to be good American citizens living up to the humane creed of Islam” (ElKholy, 26). ElKholy found that 70% of Muslims chose America as their

preferred country of residence (ElKholy, 53). He also found that only 25% felt like Americans consider them as Arabs, where as 71% felt that Americans consider them as Americans or Both Arab and American. He concluded, “Islam, as a religion, is not altogether dysfunctional in the process of assimilation among our two communities” (ElKholy, 69). ElKholy found that Toledo Muslims were more religious, yet more assimilated than Detroit Muslims. He argues that this is because Toledo Muslims have more leniencies in traditional beliefs among other reasons. Detroit Islam was characterized by less Sunday activity, ritualism, rigidity and dogmatism (ElKholy, 149). The main caveat facing Muslim Detroit youth at the time was that “they neither Americanized Islam to fit into the new social environment” moreover they associated Islam “with traditional backwardness in (their) minds,” whereas, Toledo youth associated religious activities “with social progress” (ElKholy, 150). Most significant, in light of the study of patriotism and Americanness, is the perception of Arab Moslems in a pre-9/11 era, Arab Muslims perceived themselves as American both internally and externally. It is important to note that this study focuses primarily on Arab Muslims, rather than all Muslims from all ethnic backgrounds. Muslims from other backgrounds may have perceived themselves differently. African American Muslims, whether part of the Nation of Islam, the Moorish Science Temple, or part of mainstream Sunni Islam, were undergoing the challenges confronting the 1960s Civil Rights movement. Other Muslim groups, in particular South Asian Muslims, did not have a significant presence until after the 1960s and 1970s where migration became more significant. Arab Muslim whiteness (primarily from the Levant/Syria), at this point, contributed to the ease at which one assimilated.

However, it is important to note, that attitudes may have changed after ElKholy's study. Arab American identity in America was mainly a "reaction to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War" rather than a shared culture (Abraham and Shryock, 39). This was because after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, negative portrayals of Arabs in the media emerged, causing stereotypes about Islam (Gualtieri, 2009). Further events exasperated the perception of Islam and Arabs in America, such as the 1970's Oil Embargo against the United States, the Iranian Revolution and the U.S. Hostage Crisis, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the first Gulf War, and continued intervention in the Middle East (Hammer and Safi, 66).

Later, Muslim immigrants also migrated to Detroit as part of the "brain drain". The "brain drain" was a product of Muslim countries having an underdeveloped economy, thereby making them unable to absorb their highly trained professionals. Therefore, Muslim skilled professionals migrated to the United States and in particular to Detroit (Haddad and Lumis, 1987, 67). Among these groups were Pakistanis who were often made up students or professionals (Malik, 141). Malik explains that the experience of professional Pakistanis also allowed "their affluent life-styles in upper-middle class suburban houses help them with mobility among the upper circles of American society" (Malik, 146). This allowed for a stronger formation of American identity among Muslim Pakistani Americans.

After the 1970s, Muslims began to associate the concept of being American in their religious organizations and institutions. Organizations such as the Islamic Party of North America (IPNA), a group founded by Black Sunni Muslims emerged. By 1975, IPNA was "heavily involved in civic engagement such as interfaith forums and

community activism” (Abdullah, 69). Other organizations such as the American Muslim Society, the American Muslim Alliance, the American Muslim Council, the American Islamic College, the Islamic Society of North America formed all across the United States (Abdullah 69-70).

Also, it was during this period of the 1970s, that many African-American Muslims had converted from the Nation of Islam and became part of mainstream Sunni Islam. This was most evidently marked by the conversion of two influential figures. First, the conversion of Malcolm X earlier after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1965; Second, was the Imam Warith Deen Muhammad’s entrance into the Sunni mainstream in 1978, which in turn brought a large number of the Nation of Islam’s followers with him. This also led to the formulation of many African American Sunni institutions such as the Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA). Moreover, African American Sunni Imams began to gain influence among Muslims in America of all ethnic groups, Imam W.D. Muhammad, Imam Siraj Wahaj, Dr. Sherman Jackson (who worked at the University of Michigan up until 2011), Imam Jamil Abdullah al-Emin, and Imam Zaid Shakir.

Continued Muslim migration to metropolitan Detroit, however, went beyond economics. Migration to Detroit was fueled by the “feeling that it is a good place for Muslims to settle is that groups of Muslims from Arab countries and their descendants are already living there. A number of mosques as well as social clubs for people of different national origins help in making new immigrants feel at home” (Haddad and Lumis, 69). According the Shryock, Abraham and Howell, “Detroit now attracts more Arab world immigrants (Christian and Muslim) than New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago” (Shryock, Abraham, Howell, 390).

Arab Detroit, through continued immigration, has roughly 200,000 Arabs in Detroit (Abraham and Abraham, 1983). It is unique because it “exists on the margin and in the mainstream at the same time”(Abraham and Shryock, 2000, 16). Abraham and Shryock continue to explain that Americanization as well as resistance to it, “is the dominant cultural force in Arab Detroit: it shapes lives, institutions, and, most important of all, it eventually determines what “being Arab” can mean in the realm of ethnic politics and American public culture” (Abraham and Shryock, 2000, 17). However, the notion that counter-terrorism focusing on Muslim Americans occurred prior to 9/11 was not absolutely true. Howell cites a quote from an interview she conducted before 2001, in which the participant explained

Arab Americans have made certain inroads [as Arab Americans] that you have not seen yet in the Muslim community. It’s also tied to regional politics, you know, the “green scare” [green being symbolic of Islam], the need to replace our cold war hostilities. I don’t need to get into that, but the point is that this [green baiting] has been real. AAI submitted a report to the Department of Justice on civil-rights concerns in our community. The INS, FBI, and FAA are each targeting Arab Americans, but more specifically American Muslims, in the same way these same agencies were targeting primarily Arab Americans in the early and later 1980s. (Abraham and Shryock, 366).

Another significant study was the Detroit Mosque study, which was conducted in 2004. This study compares various factors of Detroit with the national mosques. Some significant factors will be discussed. Mosque leaders were asked whether “Muslims should be more involved in community service projects that help non-Muslims” and 73% of mosque leaders strongly agreed, 20% somewhat agreed, and the remaining 6% somewhat disagreed or strongly disagreed (Bagby, 43). This is significant because it puts into perspective the overall perceptions of Muslim American opinion leaders interviewed in the Patriotism and Americanness study. Moreover, ? found that political involvement was consistent and was linked with those “who adopt a contextual approach (of Islam),

have a high level of education, immigrated earlier, are older in age and are male” (the last factor, considering that Imam, on the whole, usually are male). The data regarding mosque leaders is also consistent with the results of mosque participants and their views of political involvement, in which 78% strongly agreed and 15% somewhat agreed to the statement that “Muslims should participate in the political process” (Bagby, 41).

Furthermore, 71% of mosque leaders in Detroit as well as nationally believed and practiced a contextual approach to Islam, taking into account laws and modern circumstances. However, this varies from the general respondents. In fact, Bagby found that “respondents with lower income levels favor following a classical school; respondents with higher income levels favor the contextual approach”.

The majority (46%) of mosque participants were between the ages of 21-39, a relatively young demographic. 30% were between the ages of 40-64, 20% were between the ages of 15-20 and 3% were over the age of 65 (Bagby, 24). These results suggest that the group most influenced by mosque leadership or Muslim opinion leaders are those between the ages of 21-39, a relatively young and potentially active group.

Despite the fact that Arab Americans presence in metropolitan Detroit is overwhelming large, the ethnicity that had the highest percentage of mosque participants was South Asians, at 41%, followed by Arabs at 36%, African Americans at 11% and other ethnicities 11%. I believe this may be linked to religiosity. South Asian Muslims, on the whole, tend to be more conservative, due to their adherence to the Hanafi legal thought, which happens to be the most conservative. It is important to note, that the study included only 6 Shi'ite mosques out of 33, despite the fact that Shia Muslims are a majority in Dearborn. Also, Bagby found in an earlier study that “Only 7% of mosques

are attended by only one ethnic group. Almost 90% of all mosques have some South Asians, African Americans, and Arabs” (Bagby, 3; 2001). That most mosque have more than one racial or ethnic group indicates that despite the segregated nature of metropolitan Detroit, the mosques still provide a multiethnic environment where respect for differences is a predominate theme in the religious socialization experiences of most individuals.

Muslim American Experience

The Muslim American experience is one is both generalizable as well as nuanced. It can be linked to the experiences of other immigrant groups, such as German Americans and Japanese Americans, especially after major points of political conflict between the United States and nations abroad. Many Muslims come from countries that America has had a history of military intervention in, such as Iraq and Kuwait for Gulf wars; Afghanistan, Iran and the U.S. Hostage Crisis, and more recently drone policies in Pakistan and so forth. These conflicts cause Americans to view these populations in suspicion, especially when the government implements policies to monitor these groups of Americans.

Authors have also attempted to link the discriminatory experiences of Muslims to the Jewish and Catholic experiences in America. However, the experiences of Jewish Americans and Catholic Americans are also linked to their respective ethnic and national groups (Jewish and Irish/Italian), and not necessarily to the faith at large. One author, Ali A. Mazrui attempted to draw a comparison of Muslims to two distinct experiences, that of the Jewish and Black experiences. He argued that the Muslim experience falls somewhere in between. He explains that Muslims in the United States, like other groups,

face three major crises vis-à-vis their roles as citizens and Americans. First, the crisis of American social identity and its clash with other group identities and allegiances; Second, the crisis of how to negotiate participation in the life of the Muslim community and the broader political process; Third, the crisis of values in a general ethical code as well as particular policy preferences (Mazrui, 117). Mazrui explains that Muslims are caught between these two minority groups, where “Jews are the America of achievement. Blacks are the America of potential” and should learn from their experiences. He concluded that Muslim American power is contingent on how engaged they are with the American system, how they define themselves and how engaged they are with other groups in America. Moreover, he recommends that Muslims attempt to utilize both their indigenous (black Muslim) and immigrant experiences, to achieve their goals. He suggests that Muslims as a whole, attempt to develop the potential of African American Muslims while at the same time, cultivating the success of immigrant Muslims (Mazrui, 117-139).

Parallels have been drawn to the experiences of Muslim Americans and black Americans such as the “imposed on civil rights and religious organizations in the black community during the era of COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program), when the FBI (often illegally) targeted, infiltrated, disrupted, and undermined their work” (Shryock, Abraham, Howell, Howell, 152). Moustafa Bayoumi links that Muslim American experience of double-consciousness with the Dubosian question of “How does it feel to be a problem?” in his book *How does it feel to be a problem: Being Young and Arab in America*. Bayoumi argues that Muslim Americans are the new problem of American society, pointing to a legacy of groups in America who have had the same experiences,

Native Americans, labeled ‘merciless Indian savages’... Catholic...Irish and Italian Americans were attacked for their religion... German Americans were loathed and reviled... anti-Semitism drove Jewish Americans out of universities and jobs and fueled wild and pernicious conspiracy theories... Japanese Americans were herded like cattle into internment camps... Chinese Americans were commonly suspected of harboring Communist sympathies...and Hispanic Americans have long been seen as outsider threats to American culture (Bayoumi, 2-3)

Although, despite borrowing DuBois’s question, Bayoumi never truly links the African American experience to that of the Muslim American experience. This may be due to the fact that he speaks of the Arab American experience and thereby, links it to other ethnic groups. It is important to note that the Muslim American experience is one that is not mutually exclusive to the African American experience, due to the fact that there is overlapping in both groups. Muslim Americans happen to be black and African Americans happen to be Muslim. 42% of Wayne County are African American (Metzger and Booza, 2002). According to the Pew 2007 study, 24% of Muslims come from the Arab world in comparison to 20% of African American Muslims. This study does not specify whether it included African Americans from the Nation of Islam or the Moorish Science Temple (as well as other smaller sub-sects). Although African American Muslims have some shared experiences with all other Muslims, does not mean that there are no internal tensions. African American Muslims have to deal with the triple quandary situation, that they are a minority, within a minority, within a minority. They are a minority within black America, within the Muslim community, and within the United States (Rashid). Moreover, Jackson explains that black Americans “are losing their interpretive voice and their effective monopoly over what had functioned as a bona fide, indigenous tradition of ‘Muslim’ thought and exegesis”. He argues that immigrant Muslims are claiming superior authority over Islam and the Muslim agenda (Jackson,

205). By doing so, they delegitimize the experience of black Muslims, who predated the immigrant by over two hundred years.

Muslim American Political Activism:

The question of Muslim civic participation is an interesting one. The purpose of this study is to gauge how one understands being an American and how American one feels, and many participants responded with a sense of activism (which will be discussed further in the data chapter. Studies have found that mosques leaders often advocated for active community involvement in America through a religious lens. Bagby found that the advocacy of Muslim leaders were “founded on the Quranic ideals of doing good deeds (2:82), cooperating with others in righteousness (5:3), commanding good and forbidding evil (3:10), being kind to the needy (4:36); and standing up for the cause of justice (4:135) (Bagby, xxxix). Moreover, he linked that this active involvement was part and parcel of “what Alexis de Tocqueville celebrated as the main strength of the American society- the volunteer sector.

Bagby also found that Detroit mosques ranked highly in the political action scale which was measured on three activities write/call politician, politician accepts invitation to visit, and conduct a voter registration drive (Bagby, 56). Although this is inconsistent with the national Pew 2007 study that found Muslim American participation as slightly lower. Pew found that only 63% of American Muslims were registered to vote (as opposed to the national average of 76% (Pew 2007). Moreover, they found that only 58% of Muslim Americans voted in the 2004 elections, as opposed to the 74% of the general public that was sampled.

Regardless of the numbers, Muslim and Arab Americans have been actively engaged. James Zogby states

Today, on most levels, Arab Americans are fully integrated into American life. Data show Arab Americans among the nation's leaders in income and education; and in recent decades, we've produced three four-star generals, four governors, five senators, and more than a dozen members of Congress. The last three U.S. presidents have each had an Arab American in his cabinet. (Zogby, 179)

Muslim Americans have made much progress; in fact, political leaders are attempting to seek them out. For example, Obama pledged to "fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear" (Cairo Speech, June 4, 2009).

Many Muslim Americans believe in some notion of the American Dream. When asked whether they agreed with the statement "Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they work hard," 71% of respondent agreed (Pew, 30). This could be a reflection of American political values, however, it is more likely associated with common Islamic values. Multiple statements of Muhammad (the prophet of Islam) refer to perfecting tasks, completing actions, and working hard. One commonly referred to statement of Muhammad is "If one of you were to preform an action, perfect it". Despite this seemingly important connection of Islam and American political culture, Pew found that 47% of Muslims think of themselves first as a Muslim, rather than an American (28%) or both (18%). Although, Muslim Americans tend to see themselves as Muslim first, they are committed to American ideals. Shryock, Abraham and Howell explain that

Americanism is the belief in key American ideals: freedom, self-expression, opportunity, upward mobility, and 'liberty and justice for all—period.' Commitment to these beliefs is widespread among Arab and Muslim Americans, even when they realize that these ideals are not as freely available to them as to other U.S. citizens. (Shryock, Abraham, Howell, 388)

Muslim Americans believe in these ideals even though they feel targeted by governmental policies. More than half (53%) of Muslim Americans believe that its more

difficult to be Muslim after 9/11 (Pew, 35). 54% believe that the government's anti-terrorism policies and efforts single out Muslims for increased surveillance and monitoring (Pew, 36), which has only intensified through the NSA over the last year. However, despite their perceptions, 73% of Muslim Americans reported to never have been a victim of discrimination (Pew, 4).

It is also important to point out that peace rhetoric that comes from Muslim Americans is not a defense mechanism that emerged in a post-9/11 world. Moderation, tolerance, and pluralism was a major element in the history of the Islamic empires, as demonstrated most eloquently in Muslim Spain. Haddad explains that "The eagerness to showcase moderation, tolerance, and pluralism in Islam was not invented in the heat of the moment as a response to the intense scrutiny Islam and Muslims undergo during periods of crisis. Rather, it has a venerable place in the heritage of Islam" (Haddad, 39, 2011). American values of participation, community activism, engagement, pluralism, tolerance and the like run hand in hand with Islamic values. This could be an explanation why many Muslim Americans see themselves as Muslim first; nevertheless, 46% see themselves as American first or both.

Muslim presence in America began as early as the 1700s. In the particular case of Detroit, various Muslim movements, institutions, and organizations emerged in the area. This included the presence of the oldest mosque in Michigan, the American Muslim Society, also known as the Dearborn Mosque or the Dix mosque; as well as the largest mosque in America, the Islamic Center of America, that caters to a primarily Shia population in Dearborn, yet other Muslims attend there as well. Metropolitan Detroit is home to two of the most influential black expressions of Islam, the Nation of Islam and

the Moorish Science Project, as well as the proliferation of black Sunni mainstream mosques. Muslims of metropolitan Detroit were part of the auto industry, the subsequent labor struggles, the diversification of the region, and currently part of the attempt to redefine and recreate Detroit. Muslim Americans are part of the Detroit experience throughout its history, both as an indigenous population as well as an immigrant population; and are integral to creating the Detroit narrative.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of being an American, who is accepted as an American, and viewing oneself as American has been debated since the beginning of the republic. Who is considered an American with full citizenship rights, as stated, is a dynamic political property. As a consequence, those who lay claim to be an American or were accepted as an American have always been contested. Before the thirteenth Amendment's abolition of slavery and the fourteenth Amendment's inclusion of "All persons born or naturalized in the United States...", being an American was limited to a specific group of people within a particular race (and more narrowly "western" Caucasian), within a particular social class (property owning), within a particular religious categorization (Protestant), within a particular gender (male). Over time, through the advent of radical changes in American politics through social movements, wars and the like, property restrictions were removed, race was shifted, religious orientation became more flexible, and gender was neutralized, thereby expanding the political boundaries of possible inclusion. However, regardless of inclusion or acceptance, certain key principles remain about what it means to be an American and patriotism. That is why individuals like W.E.B. Du Bois were able to write about being an American, despite the fact that there was much resistance against incorporating black Americans into the larger body public. What it means to be an American has always been contingent upon whoever was defining it.

Liberal thought in American political culture assumes that to be American means to believe in private property, limited government and individualism; essentially a set of values. According to Crèvecoeur, to be American one had to break away from the old; therefore America was synonymous to newness (Crèvecoeur, 1782). Bellah explains that

being American was part of having different experiences, that of American individualism as one's first language and being versed in a second language that included cultural nuances particular to the individual's experiences (Bellah, 1985). Smith argued that the dynamics in the country changed over time, so that conflicting patterns moved towards embracing minority traditions, so that previously denied traditions that of African Americans or immigrants, would be incorporated. Inclusion, for Smith, was the result of groups fighting for inclusion. The political wars would not end, because of the continued debate of the idea of what it means to be American. First, the dominant political group must accept the groups fighting for inclusion; and second, they must view themselves for American. Therefore, part of being an American was embracing these multiple traditions, but at the same time, ensuring laws that provide political legitimacy for the group as well as fight for inclusion (Smith, 1993).

We seek to show in this investigation that Muslim American opinion leaders are contributing to this political narrative of what it means to be an American. This will be explored more in chapter four and five. In this chapter, the following concepts will be explored and defined in order to set up a conceptual base line.

What is Patriotism?

The term patriotism comes from the Latin word *patria* which means "country"; essentially, associating the term with a feeling or connection with one's country. Patriotism is most commonly defined as "love of country," a sense of duty or sacrifice towards one's country, and loyalty to one's country. Although patriotism is often defined as "love of country," it is a highly contested term. The following sections will discuss in

depth the question: what is patriotism? It will look at the trends regarding patriotism in the pre and post 9/11 worlds.

Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century Patriotism

Patriotism for many early American thinkers was a problematic term, mainly because it was associated with a sway of passions, rather than a logical exercise. For example, Hamilton said “There are seasons in every country when noise and impudence pass current for worth; and in popular commotions especially, the clamors of interested and factious men are often mistaken for patriotism” (Hamilton, 159, 1778). Here it indicates that patriotism is often used to cause chaos rather than rally around a good cause. Similarly, Tocqueville explains that patriotism “is in itself a kind of a religion: it does not reason, but it acts from the impulse of faith and sentiment” (Tocqueville, 1831). However, Tocqueville believes that patriotism could be used for some good especially in times of war. He continues, “It may save the state in critical circumstances, but often allows it to decline in times of peace” (Tocqueville, 1831). Thereby indicating that patriotism is a double-edged sword. On the other hand, Walter Berns explains that Abraham Lincoln “identified what is in fact the unique character of American patriotism: the devotion not only to country, but also to its principles set down in 1776” (Berns, *Patriotism and Multiculturalism*, 3). Meaning, to be a patriot, one must return to the foundational principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Max Eastman explains that patriotism is infantile-minded. He says “It is what explains the queer, blind, puppy-like, almost chemical way in which otherwise intelligent minds will cling to the proposition that their country is right, no matter what their country does, and no matter if it does two exactly opposite things at the same time.

(Max Eastman. *What is Patriotism 1915 Speech*). Essentially, Eastman points to patriotism not in a positive light perse, but rather a problematic notion, similar to blind patriotism.

DuBois's discussion of patriotism is an attempt to ensure that black Americans are included in the categorization of the prototypical American patriot. His narrative is not one of “social endogamy or Black Nationalism but to be 'a co-worker in the kingdom of culture'” (Holt, 305, 1990). In his writings on patriotism, one finds a powerful commitment to American idealism, as well as democratic morals and principles (Seventh Son V 2; 74). For DuBois, dissent is a part of the patriotic experience; and that public symbolism and passive blind adherence to the rules is a false face of patriotism (Seventh Son V2; 526, 692). In his discussion of patriotism, DuBois points to the various components incorporated in the concept. He explains that patriotism entails a sense of love for the nation (Patriotism, Nov. 1918) and sense of hope and striving (Seventh Son V. 2; 79). DuBois, with his second sight to the world, points to the paradox that exists in America: the reality of America and the ideal in which one strives towards (Seventh Son V. 2; 79). Duty and devotion are a reflection of striving towards a patriotic ideal, where one seeks to change America and the World for the better (Patriotism, November 1918).

Twentieth to Twenty-First Century Patriotism –Pre-9/11

Beginning with Doob's definition, patriotism is understood to be “the more or less conscious conviction of a person that his own welfare and that of the significant groups to which he belongs are dependent upon the preservation or expansion (or both) of the power and culture of his society” (Doob 1964, 6). According to Doob, patriotism, unlike nationalism, is universal. There are two dimensions of patriotism, strong and weak

patriotism. Strong patriotism is when a person subjugates their own needs to that of the nation, because they recognized a strong intimate connection between themselves and the nations. A weak patriot recognizes a connection of personal welfare with other groups. They may be concerned with the nation but only out of curiosity (Doob 1964, 13). Patriotism and nationalism however are related to conformity (Doob 1964, 275).

Patriotism is a group-oriented feeling or psychological predisposition which exists in human societies (Doob 1964; 6). In general, it can be understood as “a deeply felt affective attachment to the nation” (Conover & Feldman 1987). Patriotism has been associated with military service. Somerville wrote that the education system in America “has conditioned them (students) to accept patriotism as a moral duty, especially in the form of willingness to risk oneself in war” (Somerville 1981; 573). Therefore, it entails a sense of physicality that moves beyond just verbalizing sentiments or displaying patriotic symbols such as flags. But not all thinkers make that claim, in fact many argue that these patriotic symbols could effectively elicit deeply emotional responses and feelings of loyalty (Doob 1964; 33). According to Rousseau, ancient legislators used public recitations of patriotic poetry to remind citizens of their histories and duties, to enflame their hearts with the spirit of emulation and patriotism (Scott 1997; 826). Patriotism entails a dismissal of individual reason and critical thought, especially in times of war (Somerville 1981; 574). Essentially, for Somerville patriotism is irrational, accompanied with ignorance, and a sense of blind obedience to the call of the government (Somerville 1981; 568-578).

In his famous lecture, Alasdair MacIntyre asks the question “Is Patriotism a Virtue”? He concludes that patriotism is indeed a virtue however, “Patriotism is not to be

confused with a mindless loyalty to one's own particular nation which has no regard at all for the characteristics of that particular nation” (MacIntyre, 1984; 4). Furthermore, MacIntyre explains that patriotism has always requires that one have loyalty for their country over others; however, this interacts with one’s concept of morality, which is either universalist or particularist. In the particularist notion of morality, one recognizes their social obligations as associated with group attachment. Whereas, in the universalist notion, one is expected to be indifferent to their social attachments. Macintyre criticizes “liberal moralists” whose patriotism is “limited in its scope appears to be emasculated” (MacIntyre, 1984; 6). Thus, in the case of Muslim Americans, to deny one’s particularist morality as their Muslim identity, in favor of a universality morality, emasculates them.

Furthermore, patriotism is not one-dimensional, but rather a more complex concept of multiple dimensions (Kosterman & Feshbach 1989). Unlike Somerville, Kosterman and Feshbach argue that patriotism, unlike nationalism, is a positive sentiment that is important for both the wellbeing of the nation as well as the individual (Kosterman & Feshbach 1989, 273). In this same study, they found that foreign-born individuals tested higher with nationalism indicators rather than United States born respondents, but not in terms of patriotism (Kosterman & Feshbach 1989; 272).

As the shift occurred from the 1980's to the 1990's the discourse moved from the question of defining patriotism to an exploration of its merits in light of globalization and cosmopolitanism. Paul Gomberg advocated for a sense of universalism that could only occur through a struggle against patriotism and nationalism (Gomberg 1990). This debate elicited many responses, in favor of or against patriotism. Some argued that patriotism was essential for the function of groups in terms of social-identity, attachment,

loyalty, devotion, and binding power to the group (Par-Tal 1993). Par-Tal argued that one should not equate patriotism to chauvinism (Par-Tal 1993). Despite that claim, patriotism may lead members to hostile reactions to “the other” which may promote stereotypes (Druckman, 1994). In fact, this “otherness” may be heard in possessive language of 'ours, us, or we', which can aid in creating and reinforcing a collective political identity (Canovan 2000; 419). One major resource that brought up the question of “otherness” in the emerging global community was the anthology, which shaped much of the discourse, *For Love of Country*. The book is a dialogue of patriotism and its manifestations. It challenges that concept of patriotism in lieu of cosmopolitan, where patriotism can induce feelings of chauvinism, racism, sexism and ethnocentrism (Nussbaum 1994).

There were multiple types of responses to the concept of cosmopolitanism. In *For Love of County*, the responses to cosmopolitanism and/or patriotism consisted of their acceptance, their rejection, the modification of cosmopolitanism and/or patriotism, and the critique and analysis of their flaws. Appiah discusses the idea of a cosmopolitan patriot in which “everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of his or her own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different people” (Nussbaum 1994;22). Appiah believes that a person can be both a cosmopolitan and a patriot, a member of both their local community and their global community (Nussbaum 1994; 27). Barber argues that the parochialism is the quickest way to cosmopolitanism, and cosmopolitanism can eventually lead to parochialism. Similarly, he argues that patriotism is not negative in itself, but rather needs to be “rendered safe” (Nussbaum 1994; 36). Bok raises the point that society consists of interlocking groups, of insiders and outsiders. However, there are

values that are shared cross-culturally, and one must explore the local experience in order to discover the world beyond it (Nussbaum 1994; 44).

Butler argues that declaring affiliations is a problem in its own, which is the paradox of the universal attitude. Ultimately, people will be excluded from the cosmopolitan ideal, and the excluded essentially make up the threshold of universalization (Nussbaum 1994; 47). Also, universality may be a reaction from the outside (Nussbaum 1994; 48). It may defy the existing conventions labeling one as authorized and another unauthorized (Nussbaum 1994; 51). In fact, universality is difficult to translate thus negating its universality.

Falk questions the binary that Nussbaum had posited, constructing an either/or dilemma in terms of patriotism and cosmopolitanism. He indicates that globalization is leading leaders and political parties to “embrace policies that contradict their own defining ethical identity” (Nussbaum 1994; 56). Falk points to the flaws of the cosmopolitan system, in that it correlates with economic globalism and ignoring this is naively problematic. Therefore, he suggests exploring the notion of cosmopolitan democracy, in which nationalism and cosmopolitanism can be reconciled and an equilibrium between market oriented globalization and people oriented globalization can be reached. (Nussbaum 1994; 53-60)

Glazer is hesitant of Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism because world citizenship may eventually replace American citizenship. He argues that cosmopolitan political loyalty is heavily influenced by Western cultural tradition and therefore difficult to universalize and apply across the world. Processes of change can only occur by nation states because

they have legitimacy and power, all other organizations cannot succeed in implementing cosmopolitanism (Nussbaum 1994; 61-5).

Himmelfarb argues that cosmopolitanism denies the givens of life and attributes of the individuals. Therefore, cosmopolitanism is an illusion because it denies all of the characteristics of human beings (Nussbaum 1994;72-7). Wallerstein argues that we do not need to learn that we are citizens of the world, but rather that people occupy specific niches in an unequal world. Recognizing this may allow one to “cope intellectually with our social reality”(Nussbaum 1994; 124).

Levi claims that citizens sometimes, although patriotic, may comply or disobey the demands of democratic governments (Levi 1997). She argues that citizens need to be engaged in the process and give their consent in order to accept government decision making processes, therefore enter into a formal social contract (Levi 1997, 200).

According to Schatz, there are two major types of patriotism: blind and constructive. Blind patriotism is characterized by “unquestioning positive emulation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism”. On the other hand, constructive patriotism is characterized by “support for questioning and criticism of group practices intended for positive change”(Schatz 1999).

According to Gordon, Hegel's conception of patriotism is one centered on collective identity and how it revolved around state power. Patriotism is a modern virtue that connects reflection and practice, in which leads one to accept the notion of willingness to go to war for one's country (Gordon 2000).

The discourse prior to September 11th seems to have revolved around the question of cosmopolitanism and its merits, versus patriotism and its merits. In fact, even as early

as in Doob's work, the question of internationalism emerges and its merits in light of patriotism and nationalism. However, a national security crisis, often results in a loss of personal liberty and emphasis on the need for national conformity. This was evident during the discourses that emerged during or immediately after a war, such was the example of Somerville who was writing almost immediately after the Vietnam war. Up until September 11th, the discourse was dominated with the question of globalization and its affects on cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

Post 9/11 – Defining and Measuring Patriotism

After 9/11 the discourse of patriotism shifted slightly, from being definitive to being more descriptive. The debate between cosmopolitanism versus patriotism decreased, and measures of patriotism were explored. Many researchers have indicated that patriotism does not stem from animosity towards another nation (Doob 1964, 128; Kosterman & Feshbach 1989, 260; Huddy & Khatib 2009, 74). In contrast, others have argued that patriotism entails identifying a simultaneous and negative stereotyping of an “other” group (Lebow 2008). A number of behavioral scientists have explored the strong association between in-group identification and out-group derogation (see Mummendey & Klink 2001). There is empirical evidence that supporters of United States military involvement in Vietnam equated dissent with lack of patriotism (Lebow 2006; 222). Similarly, totalitarian regimes use blood to mobilize feelings of patriotism against outsiders (Robertson 2002). In patriotism research, behavioral scientists explored the question of whether heightened patriotism was at the expense of the “other” group. According to Falk, September 11th lead to mobilizing symbolic patriotism, celebration of national unity, and suspension of governmental criticism (Falk 2002; 88). By suspending

criticism, it threatened groups who remained aloof (Falk 2002; 85), meaning groups who did not engage in patriotism symbolism and groups who criticized government, were seen as a problem and a threat. Falk viewed this conception of patriotism, which was largely symbolic and blind as problematic and advocated for a critical patriotism (Falk 2005; 89).

Calhoun argued that globalization and transnational societies were seen as a product of a capitalist agenda, which lead to the formation of reactionary cultural and religious identities as a transnational resistance movement (Calhoun 2002). Therefore, one can find the emergence of resistance movements internationally. This may have been due to the fear that American patriotism was a form of imperialism. American patriotism, according to some, is a set of universal principles; therefore, indifference to the welfare of others would be considered un-American (Berns 2001, 8). Their interests were bound up with the country's interests (Berns 2001, 133).

According to Pena and Sidanius, White American's who tended to subordinate "inferior groups" experienced higher levels of patriotism. The opposite trend was found amongst Latino Americans, where higher levels of group dominance were associated with lower levels of American patriotism. This asymmetry is associated with the group-based social hierarchy in American society and the history of ethnic and racial domination in America (Pena & Sidanius 2002; 788). In terms of Muslim Americans, the rhetoric in the media on Arab Americans and the "war on terror" has been one filled with fantasy and binaries; such as 'us versus them' or 'good versus bad'. Aretxaga claims that it was not the attack on 9/11 that was unimaginable, but the fantasy that the attack could materialize (Aretxaga 2002; 140). The war represented as an inevitable, timeless war to save the world from the bad guys. Aretxaga says "The space of the war against Terrorism

is a space of fictional reality defined by a fantastic enemy where the real and the unreal are indistinguishable” (Aretxaga 2002; 142). The fictional materialization of Terrorism as an actual enemy was displaced from movie screens to television newscasts (Aretxaga 2002; 146). Similarly, it was not only a question of an unidentified enemy of fictional proportions, but rather the Arab American, especially in the Metropolitan Detroit area, who became the face of the “other”. Mass media acted as conduit for the anti-Arab, anti-Muslim views espoused by various organizations (Howell & Shyrock 2003; 450). The rhetoric was filled with “a double- edged jargon that effectively subordinates individual citizens to a logic of collective responsibility even as it protects them from accusations of collective guilt” (Howell & Shyrock 2003; 444). The media served as a network to shape public opinion about the Arab American experience, and the rhetoric was internalized. Therefore, the face of patriotism was visualized by a homogeneity (in thought, religion, and ideology) of sorts, which was internalized by both the various groups of American society. Arab communities in Detroit became described as “ghettoes” and “enclaves” serving as terminology of otherness (Howell & Shyrock 2003; 444). Nevertheless, despite this antagonism that Arab Americans and Muslim Americans faced, another thread of group identity emerged. Some Muslims began to describe themselves as 'moderates' and developed a narrative of Islam that is “unapologetically American”(Howell & Shyrock 2003; 454). However, Arab Americans, in order to “reassert their status as 'good' and 'loyal' and worthy of respect” needed to distance themselves from negative stereotypes and anyone who may suffer from the images perpetuated by those stereotypes (Howell & Shyrock 2003; 455). Various individuals and groups attempted to reassert their “Americanness” as Arabs in the United States, by

pointing to their Arabness as evidence of diversity in a multicultural America (Howell & Shyrock 2003; 455). Therefore, one can find that American patriotism is a battle of wills over political inclusion fought by marginalized groups wishing to move from the margins into the center. Some have felt ostracized and unaccepted and others found methods of reassertion into the American identity.

According to Li and Brewer, having a common language is a factor in developing a civic society that is cooperative. Therefore it is important to be able to speak English as a characteristic of a patriot over birth in America because of the goal-based perception of national identity in the United States (Li & Brewer 2004; Footnote 4; 735). Nevertheless, they argue that based on their data that a common goal-based patriotic identity is compatible with tolerance for cultural diversity. Therefore, patriotism is not an extension of ethnocentric superiority (Li & Brewer 2004; 737). Heidegger argued that language could be used to unite or separate humans into different groups. In the Muslim American experience, 9/11 has become a point of departure from the old Muslim American experience of invisibility and the new one that is being redefined. In fact, articulations of patriotism have heightened in the post-9/11 American narrative (Li & Brewer 2004; 728).

President Bush's framing of the War on Terror as "good versus evil" with religious and political undertones, such as calling the war in Iraq a "crusade" as well as mentioning that the War on Terror was a mission from God²⁴. By framing the War on Terror in such a manner, this lead to a culture war of American values, the perpetuation of global capitalism, and the exploitation of unease to gain support (Kline 2004). The expression of dissent to the American government was seen as unpatriotic post-9/11 (Salaita 2005; 147). According to Wohlwend, the events of 9/11 led to an ever

²⁴ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/07/iraq.usa>

increasing force of nationalism and patriotism, which ostracized Arab American children (Wolhwend 2006; 49). Wolhwend discusses the implications of a democratic classroom, in which a sense of multiculturalism was supposed to emerge, but rather operated as a mandate for conformity “enforcing a sameness in expectations and expression and equating a mono-cultural, homogenized America with an authorized patriotism” (Wolhwend 2006; 59). This homogeneity serves as a point of departure, developing inability to assimilate and feel part of American society. Much of patriotism revolves around the influence of rhetoric. Abowitz and Harnish assert that ideologies are constructed and circulated through discourse, and by labeling a concept one can assert and reproduce certain truths and ideologies (Abowitz & Harnish 2006; 655). Therefore, this demonstrates the gap between idealized citizenship as depicted by rhetoric and the citizenship that is actually practiced (Abowitz & Harnish 2006; 681). However, Johnston argues that patriotism is a preconceived emotion, rather than an asserted or constructed concept that may be reproduced. There are two elements that construct patriotism a willful enmity and a logic of sacrifice (Johnston 2007, 2). Patriotism does not so much require you to love your country regardless of its performance in attaining the standard despite any discrepancy (by definition nominal) between self-conception and life. Patriotism, in short, provides for a country that is always and forever what it claims to be (Johnston 2006, 23). In fact, patriotism is dependent on the phenomenon of death, in which it presumes and inspires (Johnston 2007, 231).

Rogers Brubaker explains that patriotism and nationalism do not have “fixed natures; they are highly flexible political languages” (Abbott, 43). Furthermore, he explains that patriotism is not necessarily a negative concept, as it is often perceived.

Brubaker lists three major benefits from patriotism: first, to motivate and sustain civic engagement; second, to provide support for redistributive policies; and third, to help foster the integration of immigrants. However, Brubaker adds that patriotism in a post-9/11 world has been associated with “exaggerated national pride... and Manichean rhetoric of good versus evil” (Abbott, 46).

According to Christou, the meanings of citizenship and patriotism are constructed through cultural struggles. Through the rhetoric of patriotism history becomes sacralized, and it cultivates genuine patriotic sentiments of “we” belonging to a virtuous nation (Christou 2007; 715). This was very evident because of the sacredness of Ground Zero. In contrast, Citrin et al. argue that Hispanics who assimilated in American society reject the purely ethnic identification and patriotism, and in fact assimilate through political ideals and work ethic (Citrin et al. 2007; 33). Therefore, the narrative of patriotism is understood by shared ideals and principles.

Huddy and Khatib explore the question of patriotism amongst different groups of people in America. They raise the point and influence that social identity theory has on patriotism. They indicate that national identity develops easily with immigrants and that the longer one spends in the United States that more strongly they endorsed national identity and symbolic patriotism (Huddy & Khatib 2007; 72). Interestingly enough, Huddy and Khatib found that lower levels of pride amongst blacks disappear once the two items that refer to pride in the equal treatment of groups, and the country's history are removed from national pride factor (Huddy & Khatib 2007; 72). They found that Asians experienced lower levels of symbolic levels of patriotism as well as less attentive to politics (Huddy & Khatib 2007; 72-74).

However, patriotism measures are not limited to feelings, but rather motives. There is a patriotic motive that leads one's actions. It is disputable whether patriotic acts are necessarily good, especially considering its lack of rationality (Gilbert 2009). Gilbert redefines patriotism or what may be considered unpatriotic. She states that "One's act is unpatriotic if and only if, in performing it one intentionally fails to comply with the polity-constituting joint commitments to which one is a party, on grounds solely of personal inclination or self-interest, as such." (Gilbert 2009, 339). Gilbert distinguishes between the patriot and the rational patriot. The rational patriot complies with the joint commitments of their society, through utilizing one's sincere judgment and rationality, rather than a sense of irrational pride (Gilbert 2009, 340).

Patriotism is taken a step further and is discussed beyond just motive and feelings, but behavioral norms. Nathanson argues that patriotism entails more than just loyalty to one's country but behavioral norms that are appropriate or inappropriate, as well as loyalties to individuals, groups and collectives (Nathanson 2009; 401). He indicates that there are various forms of humanism, patriotism, and global universalism. These concepts entail varying degrees of equality and partiality towards people or countries (Nathanson 2009; 406). He also distinguishes between different levels of patriotism: extreme, moderate, and global universalism (Nathanson 2009; 407). Nathanson concludes that people are blinded by partiality and do not apply standards upon themselves as they do to others. He criticizes American's condemnation of terrorist groups who claim to be liberation humanisms (Nathanson 2009, 421)

The rhetoric of freedom has been heavily usurped by the rhetoric of patriotism, in which dissent seems unpatriotic (Hafen 2009). However, others argue that dissent does

not mean one is unpatriotic, as Boxill suggests in his discussion of Douglass. Patriotism entails selflessly loving and dedicating oneself to the improvement of their country (Boxill 2009). Despite the fact that Muslim Americans were put under the microscope, the rhetoric that emerged, and alienated, levels of patriotism did not decrease. Muslim Americans do not identify themselves as Muslims, then Americans, but instead as Muslims and Americans (Suhay, Calfano, Daw 2010).

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY: ORAL HISTORY

In this empirical investigation I will be using a “perspectival approach.” Kristen R. Monroe developed this model in her narrative project, *The Heart of Altruism*. Monroe says, “Since perspective also implies the idea of different viewpoints, of different ways of seeing reality and making sense of that reality, the term allows for a differentiation between the self and others and introduces a concern for how we connect and forge ties with 'the other'” (Monroe, 14). This perspectival approach is crucial to this project because it allows for the development of a patriotism continuum as well as patriotic archetypes, based upon the definitions provided by the interviewees. It allows the interviewee to be an active participant in defining vague concepts as well as the indicators of patriotism. The perspectival approach provides the opinion leader with ample space, opportunity and time to talk about the complexity, challenges and how to work out possible contradictions when trying to convey the meaning and importance of being a Muslim American patriot and activist citizen. Finally, this approach is a dynamic and organic process in which experience is retold by a different perspective. If the perspectives of Muslim American opinion leaders are silenced and deemed irrelevant, then much of our current knowledge about Muslim American patriots will continue to have biased assumptions and stereotypes.

In order to effectively analyze the perspectives of a group of people, one must know the perspectives subject to scrutiny. This is not a matter of just knowing one’s preferences or perspectives, but rather analyzing and understanding a perspective in depth. The methodology in which one can most effectively attain a deeper understanding of perspectives is through in-depth, face-to-face interviews. This allows for the

interviewer and the interviewee to foster a longer relationship, beyond a mere questionnaire to have a conversation. This allows for the flexibility of give and take, whereas a survey may be limited in how a person could respond. To ask the question “what does it mean to be an American,” on a survey would force a person to respond according to a list of options such as: a) citizenship, b) identity one is born with, c) a culture in which one was raised, or d) an identity that one subscribes to willingly. On the other hand, through the in-depth interview, participants provided one, multiple, or even all of the answers above. Some participants incorporated different ideas, such as a belief system, which is outside the scope of the pre-existing responses. Therefore, the most effective methodology approach to utilize to understand and analyze the perspectives of patriotism among opinion leaders is through interview-based research.

The Sample: Opinion Leaders

What are opinion leaders?:

The study focuses on the perspectives of opinion leaders in particular as opposed to lay Muslim Americans. This is because opinion leaders have a significant influence on the perspectives on Muslim Americans. By interviewing opinion leaders, one can acquire the perspectives of laity through a ‘trickle down’ effect. Leaders affect the thoughts and opinions of their adherents. In addition to acquiring the perspectives of the opinion leaders themselves, one can observe the relationship leaders perceive to have with their adherents. Furthermore, the scope and sample of study is much more manageable in number.

In their work *Personal Influence* (1957), Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz explain that information, specifically political information, undergoes a two -step process.

According to Katz, an opinion leaders influence people's opinions, actions and behaviors more than the media (Katz 1957, 61-78). Lazarsfeld and Katz explain that individuals need to have one of the following qualities in order to make them influential opinion leaders: an expression of values, professional competency, and a social network (1957).

Based on Lazarsfeld and Katz's analysis, I defined *Opinion leaders* as members of the community in a position of authority (whether formal or informal) to express and transmit major ideas of religion, culture, society, and political ideas. They may act in their capacity as an opinion leader within a mosque, university, organization, institution, or social network. Therefore, an opinion leader maybe an Imam at a mosque, a board member in an institution, an active member (not necessarily leader) of a Muslim Student Association (MSA), a college professor who is consider influential within the Muslim community (such as invited to speak within a mosque or MSA event etc. The *community* would be those who sit in attendance to the messages that these opinion leaders transmit. They are those who consider the opinion leader an authority figure and therefore, grant legitimacy to the opinion leader, allowing her/him to express their opinions that shape the opinions of the aforementioned community. Therefore, an opinion leader must have a community that he/she comes in direct contact. However, opinion leaders may be found in different religious groups and may express certain opinions that are adopted by their communities about Muslim Americans.

This research project focused on opinion leaders who have influence within Detroit Metropolitan Muslim American communities. This project took an organic approach which provided opportunities to interview individuals that do not merely speak for a community, but have actual grass-root standing. For example, despite the fact that

Barak H. Obama stated in his address in Cairo, June 4, 2009 “I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear,” this does not make him an opinion leader by default. However, individuals in positions of organization or governmental leadership may be considered opinion leaders. For example, the director of Muslim American Society (MAS) Youth, Detroit Chapter would be considered an opinion leader. This is because they work to serve provide services in the Greater Detroit area.²⁵

Selection Criteria:

Opinion leaders were primarily selected first in terms of their positions and secondly based upon the reputation of individuals by fellow opinion leaders. Opinion leaders were approached based upon on their active participation through particular boards or organizations affiliated with Muslim Americans. This positional approach was the primary selection criterion. Secondly, if not enough interviewees responded using the positional approach, then a network approach would be taken. Previous interviewees were contacted and asked to suggest three names of individuals who they recommended as opinion leaders for interview after a brief description of the project. If a name appeared at least three times, then that person would be contacted for the interview. The approach is more parsimonious and efficient because it gives a more focused idea of who is considered an “opinion” leader within the community at different shades of involvement. It is important to note that community members (at any level of involvement) may have suggested different individuals based on their preferences. By engaging with members of varying levels of involvement, we expected their political identifications to vary, suggesting leaders who have beliefs similar to their own. This enabled encountering a

²⁵ Although they were not interviewed

multitude of opinion leaders. Nevertheless, a 'reputational' perspective may have also lead to the reference of the same individuals within the same network. These caveats were over-come by approaching different communities and organizations (such as visiting different mosques, MSAs, community events and so forth).

The study incorporates the perspective of twenty different opinion leaders. The interviewees had different backgrounds. Their common denominator was that they were Muslim Americans and opinion leaders to various local Muslim communities in the metropolitan Detroit, Wayne County area. The pool of interviewees was not narrowed down by ethnic identification of Muslim Americans. This is important because Muslim Americans are a very ethnically diverse group, with varying experiences. One could narrow the scope to study a specific ethnic (such as Albanian) and sectarian group (such as Shiite) amongst Muslim Americans, but the reality is, one cannot find a mosque that is solely one ethnic group. Opinion leaders may not necessarily be of the same ethnic group as their community. For example, an indigenous American community may have an immigrant opinion leader; a South Asian community, may have an African leader; a *Hanafi* (an Islamic doctrinal school) community may have a *Maliki* (another Islamic doctrinal school) opinion leader and so forth. Therefore, to limit the scope of this study to a specific ethnic group or sectarian group would severely skew the reality that most Muslim Americans experience. Opinion leaders that are selected may have various backgrounds in terms of communities that adhere to them, ethnicity, sectarianism, as well as born/convert experiences.

One-on-one Oral History Interviews

This study utilizes a one-on-one interview based face-to-face methodology. I will focus on the approach that Valerie Yow suggests in her book *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and the Social Sciences*. In conducting interviews, there is a basic four step process: First, one must study the demographical and background of each of the interviewees after they have been selected. Second, one must conduct the interviews with a recording device (voice or video). Third, one must transcribe the interviews. Fourth, one must conduct an analysis of the interviews and transcripts.

Interviews (or qualitative research) has been both advocated for as well as criticized amongst social scientists. There are many strengths and limitations to interviews, which will be discussed below. Most importantly, the interview process supports the perspectival approach because it allows the flexibility of the opinion leader to discuss concepts through open-ended questions in depth. If the opinion leader had difficulty in understanding the questions, they had the opportunity for a further explanation from the interviewer, and similarly, the interviewer can ask for clarifications on the explanation of perspective. Oral history interviews assume that questions asked are relevant to the lives of the interviewees and are based upon the perceptions of the interviewee. The perspectival approach, as mentioned earlier, implies varying viewpoints of reality. The oral history interview process allows for the perspectival approach to be the main focus of the process, how interviewees perceive concepts of patriotism and Americanness and define them in their own terms.

In the interview process, one is able to ask questions that are less specific than that of survey data, but allows for more active engagement of the interviewee. One is able

to draft a list of questions that are applicable to the particular backgrounds of interviewees, while at the same time eliciting indispensable information that may have been dropped or missed in survey data. It is essential to investigate all potential interviewees in order to understand the interviewee better; to not recreate the wheel in conducting previously conducted research, as well as tailor questions in order to not isolate an interviewee.

For example, when interviewing various opinion leaders the follow up question “Would you consider yourself patriotic?” after defining patriotism had different reactions. This seemed to act as a trigger, when some interviewees were asked it. The question was taken as an accusation of one’s patriotism. In observing the interviewee’s responses earlier in the interview, I was able to cater the questions more effectively to the interviewee. In order to not close up and become defensive, I altered the question to state “would you consider yourself patriotic (pause), based on the definition you provided?” By reframing the question to indicate that the interviewee had power (“based on the definition you provided”) and was not subject to stereotypical and symbolic notions of patriotism, interviewees responded less defensively and more openly.

Interviews have a set of questions (or questionnaire), however they are not restricted and can be guided by the researcher in real time, as the interview is being conducted, based on need. This allows for the flexibility of the interviewer to seek out deeper layers of an interviewee’s responses. Furthermore, it allows the interviewer and the interviewee to have “back and forth” relationship, fostering a more effective conversation. Also, in the interview process the research framework and directions can be revised as new information emerges, rather than after hundreds have been sampled and it

is difficult to access the same sample a second time. For example, when conducting interviews, after the first seven interviews had taken place, the Boston Marathon Bombings had occurred (April 15, 2013). After that point, interviewees began mentioning the event in the course of their interviews. I had, at the time, considered altering my questionnaire to incorporate the new event, however decided not to, in order to maintain consistency with the older interviews.

Allowing the individual to talk, to be reflective and to have a level of trust produces a significant amount of information about patriotism. One can determine the personal feelings and comprehension of each opinion leader's towards the idea of patriotism and what influences shaped that understanding. The complexities and nuances of the opinion leaders can be discovered in interviews, where as they are often overlooked in quantitative research. For example, at one point, an interviewee attempted to address the question regarding radicalization, however, she misunderstood the question. In order to have her effectively answer the question, I had to reformulate the question in a way that catered to her understanding, as well as ensure that her responses were properly articulated to represent what she had meant.

Also, one is able to observe each interviewees' personal reflections of their involvement in the process of cultivating (or not cultivating) patriotism. Through conducting multiple one-on-one interviews, one is able to discover major similarities and differences of individual experiences. One can determine significant ideologies as well as backgrounds that influence the opinion leaders.

Data obtained through face to face, interviews by the investigator are much more compelling because they are rooted in human experience and to some degree, because the

interviewees and I share a common social trait, we are Muslim. Often times, quantitative research, such as surveys, can be reductionist, operationalizing, and create an aura of machination, when dealing with important questions. When attempting to gauge human opinion, it is more effective to discuss the opinions, as opposed to force an interviewee into a mere categorization of feelings or selection of options, as commonly done in survey questions. In asking questions, the interviewee is confronted with the realization that history is a dialectic of sorts between the individual and themselves, the individual and the researcher, and the individual and the larger society. Each personal narrative is just a piece of the whole, where the particular can manifest elements of the universal.

Oral history will always be in tension, because every narrative will be a true historical experience, but is extremely relative to the context that it was experienced in. By recognizing these true historical experiences, assumptions and stereotypes can be broken. By allowing assumptions and stereotypes to take hold, they can heavily deter a true understanding and experience of history. As stated, the term patriotism neither holds connotations that are universal, nor is there one agreed upon definition amongst social scientists. However, interviewees have different economic, ethnic, educational, and social backgrounds. People often assume that there is no bias in written documents and quantitative data, because there is no physically identifiable person when reading and observing it. However, written history and quantitative data are not omnipotent, and interview research brings those critiques to light. Written documents and quantitative research comes from individuals, just as interviews do and therefore are subject to a bias. The only difference is that people do not see the face behind the written words, as they do in oral history. The power of oral history is that the respondent can define any moment

as politically relevant and salient. It is up to the interviewer to recognize consistent patterns that may arise across opinion leaders.

On the other hand, qualitative research does have some limitations. Qualitative research is heavily dependent on the individual (both the interviewee and interviewer), therefore is naturally biased. The data is collected from a few cases, with a narrow sample, that may make it difficult to generalize to the larger population of Muslim Americans across that nation. Nevertheless, statistical data also faces this problem of generalization. Precautions must be taken to ensure that the sample, both in interviewing and in surveying, is representative. Also, the viability and quality of data obtained through interviews, is dependent upon the skill of the interviewee in probing questions without forcing the interviewees to regurgitate the interviewers perspective. Nevertheless, this can be avoided through the creation of a questionnaire in order to avoid loaded questions. At times, interviewees would ask, “what do you mean by that?” which forces the interviewer to ask a question or define a concept in a way that is neutral and at the same time, provides enough information for the interviewee to answer the question. If precautions are not taken, the interviewer’s personal biases and frameworks of thought may heavily influence results. Because of the depth and the immense amount of particular information, it may be difficult to assess and analyze across the board of interviewees. Furthermore, the immense amount of data may make analysis and interpretation a very time consuming process.

Furthermore, a researcher can potentially affect and influence interviewees in their answering, because of the researcher's presence. Because interviews are a process that requires, at least, two individuals, it is inevitable that the interviewer may affect ideas

of the interviewee. This is also a strength, in that it allows for the interviewer to be equally as affected by the interviewee as well. Moreover, an interviewee may feel more comfortable addressing questions based on the image of the interviewer. For example, interviewees in the Muslim American community seemed more comfortable talking about issues of being an American or patriotic when asked by an in-group member. Overall, they felt less threatened and more secure by my presence. Interviewees may be hesitant in revealing information because of the researcher's presence. They may feel that their anonymity and confidentiality is less secure, than when filling out a paper in survey research, where one's name is never even included. But by constantly reassuring them that the interviews will maintain their confidentiality, they feel more comfortable with the process.

Dealing with Bias:

My active participation in the civic life of the Muslim American community certainly contributed to my construction of the research problem. Being a participant observer can be problematic in two ways: First, in terms of personal bias; and Second, in terms of influencing what is being observed (or in this case the interviewee). Therefore, it is pivotal to engage in reflexivity in which one conducts a self-analysis to “consider one’s successively position in the social space, position in the field and position in the scholastic universe” (Bourdieu, 94). The question that arises is how can I deal with personal biases in the process of analyzing the interviews? My approach was to look at the direct transcripts of the interviewees and note the patterns that repeat most frequently. That is why in the data chapter (chapter 5) I include multiple quotes from different participants on each major theme. This is to ensure that the reader can read the quotes

directly and analyze the quotes themselves, while also being exposed to my analysis. I also quantified the responses, indicating the number of times a theme was repeated among interviewees as a whole²⁶. Quantifying the themes was important in that it allowed two processes to occur. First, by quantifying the themes it allowed for the reader and I to see the conceptual themes as an operationalized or numerical value. This allows the reader and I to consider the potential causes of why themes emerge more frequently than others. Second, by quantifying the themes it allowed me to keep in check the possibility of over-reading the themes that I personally would have considered significant. For example, I consider patriotism to be a product of threat. Whenever the United States experiences a threat, whether war induced in terms of foreign affairs, or domestic in terms of taxation or immigration, political leaders tend to speak about one's patriotic duty. Even recently, Obama spoke against corporations practicing inversion as problematic and the need for "economic patriotism" (New York Times, 2014). However, my notion of patriotism did not emerge with the participants, nor did I mention it in order to avoid leading or prompting certain responses. In fact, when a few participants asked me how I defined patriotism before providing their own responses, I explained that I would like them to define patriotism in their own terms and not give them a definition that may lead them to draw conclusions that may differ from their own.

Regardless of researchers attempt to ensure that bias does not occur, in the process of oral history, interviewers need to establish a connection with their participants in order for them to open up during interviews. As a Muslim American, I already had an established report in the community, making the establishment of trust easier. Had a non-member of the Muslim community conducted the interviews, participants would have

²⁶ If a participant mentioned a theme multiple times, it still counted as one repetition of the theme.

been concerned about governmental spying and agent provocateurs. In fact, one participant mentioned after the interview that they felt at ease throughout the interview and thanked me for making them feel comfortable throughout the process. As a participant observer, I was able to recognize if masking occurred during the interviews. All the participants mentioned identifying with their Americanness. This identification was not merely a reactionary identification to stereotypes, but rather a rational deliberation of identity and particularly over the last 12-13 years. This is evident in that definitions of patriotism did not change during times of “crisis”. For example, the same themes prior to the Boston Marathon Bombings (April 15, 2013) emerged afterwards as well. Participants may have referred to it in terms of contemporary issues and problems, but the overall definition and themes of Americanness and patriotism remained consistent. During my dissertation defense, one audience member asked if these results could have been possibly been skewed or a type of masking among the Muslim American opinion leaders. I argue that had that been the case, none of the participants would have mentioned the need to criticize government in order to ensure that the government is acting upon the will of the people, fairly or justly. However, all the participants mentioned that the government needed to be criticized and that patriotism could not be blind. This is not surprising because all the participants sought to redefine what Americanness means to them, rather than attempt to draw their Americanness through symbolic approaches or whitewashing.

The approach:

The interviews were conducted over a period of seven months, the earliest interview occurring in early March 2013 and the last was conducted in mid-September of

2013. Interviewees were contacted based upon their positions of leadership in various organizations located in the Wayne County area of metropolitan Detroit. Interviewees were contacted via email through public directories. The email included a letter of introduction, a recruitment letter, and an information document that explained the process. Interviewees selected the time and location of the interviews, based on what was most convenient with them. The locations that were selected were their homes, their workspaces, or a public café. All interviews were conducted in English, although the interviewee utilized some Arabic words. In the transcripts, the Arabic words were transliterated phonetically and translated in brackets.

During the interviews, the interviewee was reminded of their rights in the interview process, such as ability to not answer questions or decide to not participate in the interview. They were given the information sheet again to review before continuing to the interview. They were reminded that by conducting in the interview, that they are consenting to participating in the study. Then, they were reminded at the end of the study, they could withdraw their participation and I would delete the recording in their presence. However, no one decided to cancel participation.

The interview questions revolved around three themes. The first was basic background information. This part of the interview is omitted from the research, because it contains personal information. However, it is used so that I am able to more effectively understand the responses based on context that the interviewee provides. Second was the community and interviewee's relationship. Here, the interviewee was asked question such as "Are members of your community socially and politically involved?" The questions in this section allows for the exploration of the interviewee-community relationship and

reception to the interviewee's perspectives. Third, and most significantly, are the questions regarding patriotism and Americanness, such as "what does it mean to be an American?" These questions directly reflect the interviewee's perspectives, which is the main subject of study.

Following the completion of the interviews, the interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were saved in a password-protected file. In the analysis of the study, any identifying information would be omitted to protect the confidentiality of the interviewee. The audio version of the interviews, upon the completion of the study, will be destroyed. This is also, to protect the confidentiality of the interviewee.

Lastly, the interviews will be analyzed through studying the varying perspectives of the opinion leaders. I will look at major similarities and differences among the interviewees. I will consider outlying perspectives. Also, studying how opinion leaders personal experiences may shape their perspectives on patriotism and what it means to be an American. This will allow of the creation of a patriotism spectrum. It will also allow for a Muslim conceptualization of what it means to be an American.

Interviews were scheduled on a first-come basis; therefore, participants who responded first were interviewed until all twenty interviews were completed for the data collection. One thing to note is that like in all communities, participants who responded more quickly or positively to scheduling the interview had to do with reputation. If an interviewee had some contact with me or knew of me prior to the interview, they were more likely to accept participation²⁷. Participants who never met me prior to the interview

²⁷ The Muslim community, like other communities, is very network oriented. If people have knowledge of you, then they will be more likely to get involved. However, like metro-Detroit as a whole, the community is very segregated in terms of race, ethnicity, and religious denomination. Therefore, my personal racial group, ethnicity, and religious denomination may have influenced respondents. My

or had no mediator to introduce us often rejected participation. Interviewees who were introduced to me through a third party always accepted participation. On the whole, only four people neglected to respond to the recruitment letter and two rejected participation. The remaining people contacted had acquiesced to participation.

Background information:

Twenty opinion leaders were interviewed over the course of seven months; beginning in early March 2013 and ending in early September of 2013. Interviews were an average of 46 minutes, the shortest being 27 minutes and the longest being 86 minutes. Twelve of the interviewees were obtained through the reputational method and the remaining eight were through the networking method. Age: Out of the twenty, six interviewees were between the ages of 20-30. Six interviewees were between the ages of 30-50. Eight interviewees were 50 years old and above. Although it was not intentional, the age demographic seemed to be evenly spread, allowing for different perceptions of patriotism dependent on one's experience. Race/Ethnicity: In terms of racial groups and ethnicity, four were South Asian, six were African American, eight were Arab American, one was white American, and another was African. Citizenship: Six of the interviewees were naturalized Americans and the remaining fourteen were born Americans. Only one interviewee spoke a before and after experience of being an American, despite that six of the interviewees were naturalized. Religion: Four of the interviewees were converts to Islam, and the remaining were born Muslims. Although unintentional, this is consistent with the Pew 2010 study which states that 20% of American Muslims are converts (Pew

religious denomination was not mentioned and it did not seem to affect interviews. On the other hand, interviewees mentioned my racial and ethnic identity at times, drawing comparisons to their own ethnic identity. This happened twice, both interviewees were over 60 years old, one of African American descent and the other of South Asian.

2010, 24). Three of the interviewees were of the Shia denomination of Islamic faith and the remaining were Sunni. This is also consistent with denomination demographics, in which Shia make up 11% of Muslims in America (Pew, 2010, 23). **Gender:** Nine interviewees were female and the remaining eleven were male.

Table 4.1- Demographics of Respondents

Length (Time)	Shortest time		Longest time		Average time	
	27 minutes		86 minutes		46 minutes	
Type of Leadership	Reputational			Network		
	12			8		
Age	20-30		30-50		Over 50	
	6		6		8	
Race/Ethnicity	South Asian	African American	Arab American	White American	African	
	4	6	8	1	1	
Citizenship	Born Americans			Naturalized Americans		
	14			6		
Religion/Islam	Born Muslim			Converts to Islam		
	16			4		
	Sunni			Shia		
Gender	3			17		
	Male			Female		
	11			9		

CHAPTER 5: THE MUSLIM AMERICAN PATRIOT

“We can’t be born and live a patriotic life, I mean, we got to do something miraculous to prove our patriotism to them.” (7-37:02).

In the post-9/11 American context, Muslim American identity is being questioned. Can those who supposedly contributed to the attacks on 9/11 truly be American? Can they truly be loyal to America? Are Muslim Americans less patriotic? The study of the Muslim American diaspora is relevant to today's society particularly because of the post 9/11 experience that heightened the levels of fear and the ever growing question of globalization has affected the perceptions of Muslims American, due to the emergence of resistance movements (Calhoun 2002). In theory, Muslim Americans need to come to terms with the cultural schizophrenia, in which they are torn between the identities because of the hyphenation phenomenon of their identities; a sense of belonging, sameness, or difference. This chapter will discuss in depth the perceptions of Muslim American opinion leaders, when it comes to notions of Americanness and Patriotism. The data analysis chapter seeks to discover how patriotism and Americanness is perceived, understood, and manifested in the lives of Muslim Americans. This is crucial because often patriotism is often defined for Muslim Americans by scholars such as Samuel Huntington, by political leaders, such as Agema, Cheney and Bush, etc, and by specific media talking heads, such as Ann Coulter, Evangelical Christians such as Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, Ted Haggard, etc; mainly, the patriotism of Muslim Americans is being defined by other opinion leaders and none of their own. However, this project allows Muslim Americans to define these concepts and create their measure of what it means to be a patriotic American.

By utilizing a comparative, one on one, face to face, oral history methodological approach major themes of similarities and differences came together creating links towards what it means to be an American and a patriot. Although, citizenship and loyalty are invariably linked by proxy of these terms, how they are perceived differs. Stereotypically, the public as a physical manifestation and/or articulation of one's Americanness often understands patriotism. This chapter shows that this linkage, similar to the war on terror, is pre-emptive; that patriotism and Americanness, for the most part, are intricately intertwined and in many cases, the same.

Table 4.1 – Themes and Number of Respondents on Americanness and Patriotism

Americanness	#	%	Patriotism	#	%
Citizenship	8	40%	Loyalty	7	35%
Born, Raised, Culture	5	25%	Not Blind	20	100%
Values, Ideals	9	45%	Not Symbolic	4	20%
Loyalty	1	5%	Active Pursuit	18	90%
Active Involvement	15	75%	Equals American	--	--
Race- Old definition	4	20%	Race	--	--
Multiple Identities	20/14	70%			

Americanness:

How do you define what it means to be an American?

Participants gave many different answers regarding what it means to be an American. In this section, I will focus on the major themes that emerged based on participants' responses. Those themes are: 1) Citizenship in America; 2) being born, raised and part of American culture; 3) A set of values that are inherently American; 4) A sense of loyalty

to America; 5) Active involvement in American society; 6) A comprehension of an old definition of American being associated with race and an attempt to redefine it to be more inclusive; 7) An acceptance of one's multiple identities as being part and parcel of American identity.

Citizenship

Eight of the twenty participants mentioned citizenship as part of being an American. One interviewee defined being an American by saying *"I simply see being American as being a citizen of this country"* (2-17:26). The participant, in this case, was pointing towards legal citizenship in terms of due process, personal liberties and rights and the like, rather than citizenship in terms of being a part of the social fabric per se. J.G.A. Pocock explains that a citizen is someone who is "free to act by law, free to ask and expect the law's protection, a citizen of such and such legal community of such and such a legal standing in that community" (Beiner, 36). Essentially, a citizen is defined by their relationship vis-à-vis the law. The participant saw Americanness in this perspective of citizenship. Essentially, one's Americanness is defined by their citizenship to America and the legal standing that a citizen has. Pocock continues to explain the significance and benefits of citizenship as "acts of authorization, appropriation, conveyance, acts of litigation, prosecution, justification" (Beiner, 36). This was surprising, considering that six of the interviewees were naturalized Americans. One would assume that citizenship was the line of demarcation between being an American and being from another country. However, the remaining seven participants who included citizenship as their definition of being American also included other components. Some of the other components were

related to a consciousness (1-17:42), race and ethnicity, choice, and private entrepreneurship (1-18:06).

Another participant mentioned the issue of rights and responsibilities. They explained, *“I have rights upon the American government, the American government has rights upon me.”* It is important to note that the wording of the participant is a common way of phrasing rights and responsibilities, in both Arabic and in Islamic legal thought. In Islamic tradition the first portion of the statement “I have rights upon the American government” denotes one’s responsibilities towards the American government. The second portion of the statement “the American government has rights upon me” denotes in Islam the government’s responsibilities towards the citizen, usually in terms of the rights and liberties that a citizen has that is secured by the government. Also, this type of phrasing implies a contractual agreement between two equal parties, the individual making the statement and the government. In a sense, this is similar to Jeffersonian thought in the idea that citizens should be engaged in order to ensure that the government is responsible to the citizens; otherwise, as suggested by the literature in the Declaration of Independence, “it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security” (Declaration of Independence), the citizens may rebel. Similar to the Jeffersonian precept of needing to ensure that the government is correctly doing its job, the participant continued to discuss the importance of defending the country as well as correcting the government by stating *“I have to do whatever I can do to contribute to the benefit of this country. I have to respect the laws. I have to obey the law. I have to defend the country, except if that the American government is wrong, I*

have to talk. I have to correct the government. I don't support the government in doing injustice" (6-17:51).

Citizenship was not only mentioned in lieu of rights and responsibilities, but other major American political values that are part of overall American political culture. One participant mentioned that citizenship goes hand in hand with "*a strong sense of independent freedom*" (9-16:06). Another participant mentioned "*a sense of entitlement*" (9-17:30). Another participant mentioned that to be an American one must be a "*citizen who contributes to its (America's) greatness*" (15-35:31). All three of these statements are consistent with Jeffersonian principles found in the Declaration of Independence; the most obvious being the sense of independent freedom. The sense of entitlement being consistent with the notion of the power that one assumes due to the powers that "Nature's God entitle them" (Declaration of Independence). The idea that a citizen must contribute to America's greatness as part and parcel of one's duty to the nation in order to secure their unalienable Rights.

Two interviewees explicitly mentioned that Americanness is not contingent upon citizenship or being born in America at all. One participant stated, "*When I think of being an American, I don't think of citizenship, just because I was born here*" (4-19:01). This is an interesting point, given that throughout American political history the notion that birth granted automatic citizenship, to all people, especially people who were "non-white" until later laws emerged such as the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. This was especially interesting given that the participant happened to non-white. Nevertheless, these notions of citizenship among opinion leaders marks the difference between legal citizenship (as reflected in the earlier quote of being American

‘as being simply citizenship’) and social citizenship (in which one is automatically a citizen by virtue of birth and culture). Another participant was asked if Americanness has anything to do with citizenship since they did not mention it in their definition, they responded with “*I don't think it needs to be*” (17-36:45). The participant continued to explain that if citizenship was the main contingency in Americanness, then the only true citizens should have been Native Americans, mainly because “everyone else here pretty much came from somewhere else”. However, as pointed out earlier, citizenship of Native Americans was contested as late as 1924, whereas other immigrant groups were granted citizenship. In fact, one participant mentioned how the restrictions of certain groups of people in regards to property ownership, explaining that when a particular property was purchased roughly thirty to forty (the year was not specified) years ago, “I have a copy of the deed, it says no people of color nor non-gentiles can buy that property. And there’s a mosque. The Jews couldn’t buy the property, but there’s a mosque there” (45:01). However, it is understandable for the participant who mentioned birth as being their definition of Americanness, because one does not need to establish or test their citizenship when they are born in America. When teaching the course ‘Introduction to American Government’ at Wayne State University, I have noticed that students who have been naturalized or going through the naturalization process are more likely, on the whole, to know more details in American political history, the functions of government and one’s rights and responsibilities towards it. The incentive of this knowledge is that one will become part of the legal community; whereas born Americans are already part of the legal community.

Although citizenship, for the most part, had been associated with Americanness, one interviewee mentioned citizenship in association with patriotism. I included this here, because the notion of citizenship is not repeated in association to patriotism and therefore, it is seen as an outlier of patriotism themes. The participant stated, “*Well, patriotism is being a good citizen. Okay. Patriotism does not mean being a blind citizen*” (7-36:25). The concept of citizenship is never mentioned again during his interview.

For interviewees 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, and 19, the word “citizen” or “citizenship” is never mentioned at all in their interview. This may be a product of their own experience of being born American versus being naturalized American. Out of the six interviewees who did not mention citizenship, five of them were born citizens and only one was a naturalized citizen. As mentioned briefly earlier, the reason why they may have not mentioned citizenship in association with Americanness is because when one is born and raised American, one does not have to test or prove their citizenship, they are automatically citizens. Whereas, naturalized citizens have to go through an Americanization process, where they learn the history, take civics courses, attempt to learn the language, as well as undertake an exam and swear an oath to be law-abiding American citizens. For these particular interviewees, being American had much to do with socialization, cultural norms, ideals, values and beliefs. Interestingly enough, all of the participants who did not mention citizenship also happened to be Arab American.

Born, Raised, Culture

Five of the interviewees mention that being an American is associated with being born and raised in America thereby, being exposed to the local culture. This is different than the notion of automatic citizenship one receives by virtue of birth. One participant

mentions that *“its not about this birth certificate that you get, its really about you really like you grew up in this context”* (3-34:36). This idea of “grew up in this context” has less to do with citizenship and more to do with culture. One is American because they speak the language of cultural America. Another participant mentions that *“for me, being American is, very much has to do with the fact that I was born and raised here, that my cultural norms and comforts come within an American context”* (4-18:26). Meaning, one is American because of exposure to cultural norms. For example, when one thinks of the Fourth of July, one can picture family barbeques, American flags, and fireworks. The imagery of the Fourth of July only comes from one who experiences it.

Another participant responded to the question, “What does it mean to be an American” with, *“I’m American. My family built this country. Baby, I was born here. I was raised here. I continue to live here”* (12-51:19). This is important because being American in this case does not necessarily mean one must have legal status in America, but rather a cultural affiliation. It is important to note that this statement is a reflection of a particular experience within black American culture; a culture within a culture. The challenge of this study is interpreting the complexity of being Muslim American, in which one has to cross-code cultural references. In this particular instance, the use of the term “baby” has many implications in black American culture that stems from the 1960s. It is a term denotes family and community. Essentially, it is cultural construct with both social and political meaning. One example is H. Rap Brown’s slogan of “burn baby burn,” in which the term ‘baby’ refers to America and its self-destructive nature due to its treatment of black Americans. Moreover, it has been ascribed to Brown to have said “If

American don't come around, we're gonna burn it down", consistent with the notion that 'baby' is referencing America.

In fact, a few participants mentioned that one did not necessarily have to be a citizen in order to be American. One participant stated that "aspiring citizens" are as much as American as citizens, *"To me that's what is wonderful about America and that makes us Americans, no matter if they have papers or not"* (13-19:36). The concept of "having papers" references legal status in Arabic language and culture. Usually, if one does has legal status, in Arabic it would be stated as "having papers" (papers meaning legal documents). If one does not have legal status of citizenship, it would be denoted as "not having papers". This statement is interesting because it means that being America has to do more with culture, ideals and beliefs, than it has to do with citizenship. At the same time, this is ironic because to be American means one must be born or raised in the American culture, where birth guarantees automatic citizenship nowadays. Conversely, one could be an American without having citizenship by adopting the culture; which, they were not originally part of anyway. Although, a perfect case of being an American by culture without citizenship is immigrants who come to the United States at a young age and are raised in America, but have not obtained citizenship.

The other two interviewees who mentioned culture and being raised in America spoke about it as a social-psychological identification with America, in particular "a mindset". One participant stated, *"There's a mindset of being an American and it does have something to do with being here and being part of the culture"* (14-23:13). Having the mindset of being an American reflects a sense of belonging, a perception of sameness, and a notion of shared experiences in America. However, to truly cultivate this mindset is

difficult, especially among Muslim youth, mainly due to mixed messaging. For example, President Obama has made statements in the past regarding Muslim Americans as part of the American social fabric, such as his statement “Here in the United States, Ramadan reminds us that Islam is part of the fabric of our Nation, and that—from public service to business, from healthcare and science to the arts—Muslim Americans help strengthen our country and enrich our lives” (Obama, July 20, 2012). Nevertheless, his actions tell a different story, when two Muslim women who wore headscarves say behind the stage and were asked to move as to prevent them from appearing in any photographs (Smith, 2008). These inconsistent and mixed messages for Muslim American youth make it easy for them not to understand their place or identity in American society. The other participant spoke about the problem of ethnic association as being problematic among Muslim youth. They explained that rather than saying ‘I’m an American’ they would state that they were of whatever ethnic group they came from originally. The participant stated “*I saw many kids saying, I’m this, I’m this, I’m this as though they are separating themselves from America. That’s absolutely wrong. They were born and raised here, so you have to love this country*” (6-20:35). This is in line with Duboisian double-consciousness; Muslim American youth will not consider themselves as fully or truly American, even when they legally are. Many Muslim American youth feel that they are not American for two reasons: First, they do not feel they are American internally because their families may put emphasis on their ethnic or racial identity. It has been my experience dealing with Muslim youth to speak of themselves in one way, but when talking about non-Muslim who happen to be Caucasian, they will refer to them as “American”. This often happens because parents speak of the general American public as American exclusively,

whereas their children are identified with “Muslim”. Second, many Muslim American youth do not consider themselves to be fully American due to external causes (the perception of “out group” members of the “in group”) because they believe that the general American public do not consider them as American or accept them as such. This is often due to personal experiences of stereotyping and discrimination or because of overwhelming mainstream media criticism on Islam and Muslims. This forces Muslim American youth to constantly view themselves through the outside lens. Furthermore, it is important to note that this sense of double-consciousness is intensified because of the increased monitoring of Muslim Americans, whether through the Patriot Act, the FBI, the NDAA, the NSA, or through smaller institutions such as the NYPD. However, despite the increased conflict in the Middle East and the heightened scrutiny of Muslim Americans in the United States, President Obama has a very high approval rating among Muslim Americans. In fact, 72% of Muslim Americans approve of Obama as opposed to other religious groups: Other non-Christians (59%), Jewish (55%), No religion/Atheist (54%), Catholic (44%), Protestant/Other Christian (37%), and Mormon/Latter-day Saints (18%) (Jones; Gallup 2014).

Values, Ideals

Nine of the interviewees mentioned ideals and values in association to Americanness. In some cases, some of those values were mentioned explicitly when asked about what it means to be an American. Some of those values were “*private entrepreneurship*”(1-18:06), “*ability to self-identify, that freedom to choose who you are*” (5-19:11), “*a strong sense of independent freedom*” (9-16:07) and “*entitlement*” (9-17:30), and belief in the American dream (13-19:36). This is consistent with Habermas’s

idea of constitutional patriotism. Essentially, in order to be a patriotic American, “every citizen (needs to) be socialized into a common political culture”(Habermas, 500; 1996) He goes on to explain that Americans are a very diverse population both racially and linguistically, however they share a “common denominator” of values and political culture. As mentioned in chapter 2, Muslim Americans tend to subscribe to American ideals, even when they are at times excluded from it (Shryock, Abraham, Howell, 388).

One participant mentioned that being an American is “*someone who is committed to the ideals of this country and the things that it stands for as far as freedom and equality and egalitarianism and the opportunity for everybody to have access to the American dream*” (14-18:59). Another mentioned a more cosmopolitan approach to being an American by saying “*Its a positive view that you can make a change in the world and you have to have enough freedom for people to make that change*” (16-16:46). The notion of the American dream stems from partially from Puritan work ethic, but among Muslim Americans, more so from cultural work ethic that came from their homelands but was able to manifest in America. The concept of the American Dream is the notion of working hard and being a self-made person in order to achieve some level of success in America given that America is “the land of opportunity”. Similarly, the American dream stems from the newness of America, allowing one to re-create their lives in a relatively new society. For many Muslim Americans, especially those who come from an immigrant background, the American Dream is one that is actualized in their personal lives. Their families leave behind their old countries, most often from third world countries, and achieve a higher standard of living in the United States. One reason immigrants may opt into the notion of the American Dream is because Presidents so often

repeat it in almost every inaugural address. Jennifer Hochschild argues that the American dream is not achievable, yet U.S. presidents push it all the time (Hochschild, 1996). In fact, different manifestations of the American Dream, of working hard to achieve a good life can be witnessed in Johnson's notion of 'Great Society', in Kennedy's 'New Frontiers', and even in Obama's 'Yes We Can' approach to politics.

The concept of American ideals is so influential that three interviewees mentioned that one could be an American without necessarily being a citizen, as long as they subscribe to the values and ideals of this nation. One participant stated,

They're not technically like, they don't have citizenship and what not, maybe their main language is Spanish, but they're all about the American ideals, and they're obviously here because America has something to offer and they're trying to strive for that. Whether or not that dream is achievable for everybody is another story but, you could even say that they're patriotic in the sense of what they're trying to do. I don't know if that kind of clarifies it. (3- 32:36)

This means that Americanness is not grounded in a particular country or geographic location, nor a particular culture per se; but rather a set of values and beliefs. To be an American, one could be a citizen of any other country of the world but believe in the American Dream, independent freedom or any major American ideal or value and still be an American. This is interesting because of two competing concepts. First, that America has the duty to encourage the world to adopt their values and ideals, because they have been tested and tried and proven to be worthy. Second, that American ideals are nothing more than universal ideals that the rest of the world seeks to achieve. It is in this case that the notion of cosmopolitanism would emerge, as was seen in Nussbaum's book *For Love of Country*. The former being akin to the Glazer's argument that global political loyalty and values stem from Western cultural tradition and the latter being Nussbaum's notion of cosmopolitanism. In sum, are American ideals universal and able to be replicated? There

was the belief that America could spread American democracy in Iraq. However, because of the nuances and particularities of Iraq as a nation with their own brand of nationalism, American democratic values had to be redefined to fit the culture and norms of Iraq.

I would like to note on the use of the term “striving” where the participant said, “they’re trying to strive for that”. Striving is an interesting concept in American politics and a common theme espoused by American preacher and theologian Jonathan Edwards. In order to achieve the American Dream one had to strive towards it. This concept of striving is also evident in DuBois’s writings, most famously when discussing double-consciousness, “one ever feels his twoness,-- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two reconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (DuBois, 1903).

However, the concept of striving is not only found in Christian tradition. The most misunderstood Islamic concept, especially by America and the West, is the concept of *Jihad*. *Jihad* in Arabic can literally translate into the effort, struggle or striving. The most appropriate term would be striving, because *Jihad* usually reflects a spiritual striving. Although *Jihad* is commonly seen by the west as a holy war, the concept of holy war actually stems from the Crusades. In Islamic tradition, *Jihad* has two types, “the Greater *Jihad*” which is the concept of spiritual striving in order to improve oneself and “the Lesser *Jihad*” which is armed struggle.

Loyalty

One interviewee defined being an American in association with the concept of loyalty. They stated “*Since you're asking specifically about being an American, that does mean being loyal to the governing body and all the rules and regulations, you don't feel*

like those don't apply to you, because they do" (11-31:29). I noted this in particular because this interviewee found the term patriotism as problematic. Therefore, loyalty, good and active citizenship was associated with being an American, where as patriotism was associated with blind and exclusive loyalty (to America and not to one's country of origin) to governmental actions that are "*irrespective of what you would agree or disagree with*" (11-36:11). Loyalty for thinkers like Thoreau meant that in order to be loyal to the nation, one need to dissent, as embodied by his notion of "civil disobedience". The participant, who referred to loyalty, did not refer to a blind loyalty when associated with Americanness. That is why to be an American one had to be loyal to the laws, but could still dissent. Whereas, for the participant, patriotism was equated with blind loyalty, therefore one could not dissent when engaging in patriotism.

Active Involvement

For fifteen of the interviewees, Americanness was not only an identity in which one feels passively or was given to them by virtue of birth place, but somewhat of an active pursuit. An American could not merely be a citizen, except in the case of one interviewee, as mentioned earlier. Rather, Americanness required that one must be "*an active member*" (11-31:29), someone who built this nation and is "*part of sustaining it*" (12-52:04). Americans are citizens who "*contribute to its (America's) greatness*" (15-35:31), one who believes and takes action towards the American dream (14-20:21), that one lives by Kennedy's question "*Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country*" (17-34:49). Moreover, even the process of being an American is an active choice, as one interviewee stated, "*It is a choice to be American, it is a choice to remain American, and it is a choice not to want to be something else*" (1-

21:50). Therefore, for Muslim Americans, one cannot simply be born and raised in America, but someone who is actively engaged, pursuing American ideals and the American dream. One has to consciously and actively contribute to the American society. Similarly, Philip Gleason makes a similar argument that being an American is a product of choice and commitment. He says

To be or to become an American, a person did not have to be any particular national, linguistic, religious, or ethnic background. All he had to do was to commit himself to the political ideology centered on the abstract ideals of liberty, equality, and republicanism. Thus the universalist ideological character of American nationality meant that it was open to anyone who willed to become an American (Gleason, 1980).

Additionally, participation for Muslim Americans was not a matter of conventional politics; it was bigger than elections and campaigns. Rather, participation was contributing to society in whatever facet the participant had at their ability, whether it was artistic, academic, spiritual, or social services. The opinion leaders engaged in their communities through education, volunteer work, mentoring, spiritual guidance, forming organizations, social services and so forth. By doing so, they suggest through their actions (and their statements towards activism and engagement) that there is no sense of political and social alienation. Basically, if one is active in their society, they do not feel alienated. This is similar to Tocqueville's perception of American communities; where he witnessed that Americans were heavily invested in their communities through volunteerism. By being active in their communities, they are basically part of the community as well as viable social capital and producers of civic engagement (Putnam, 2000). One could suggest that Muslim American leaders insistence towards active engagement and participation can contribute to the reversal of what Putnam suggest is the decline of American social capital.

Old Definition – Race

Four interviewees mentioned an old concept of what it meant to be an American and a newer one in which they redefined for themselves or American has redefined as a whole. The older definition was associated being White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and middle class. One participant stated,

What does it means to be American? It means to be White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. So, part of the African American experience is to say, "Be yourself." So, you don't have to be White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, but you don't have to be white. Because as African Americans, we're on the bottom of the totem pole, being white is the goal (7-17:00).

In this particular case, the interviewee spoke of the African American experience. This interviewee repeatedly mentioned that America has evolved and continues to do so. They concluded with, *"in order for me to be an American, America has to understand what I am and what I bring to America and its not un-American to be something other than what they perceive"* (7-35:36). This participant made an argument not unlike Du Bois, who used the Crisis Magazine to speak to American opinion leaders who had the power and authority to make a difference in the lives of black Americans; essentially arguing that America had to accept African Americans (as well as Muslim Americans) as part of American social fabric.

The remaining three interviewees who spoke of the function of race were Arab and South Asian Americans. However, they did not speak about America needing to accept them as Americans, but rather changed the definition to be active and value oriented. One mentioned that being an American was *"engaged in their community"* (3-25:40). Another participant spoke of it in terms of *"a consciousness, a way of thinking"* (1-17:42). The third participant spoke in terms of *"cultural identity"* and *"socialization"* (22:58). Essentially, despite there being an old definition of what it meant to be an

America, the opinion leaders attempted to redefine Americanness in their own terms, usually associated with some level of activism. One participant stated, demonstrating this

Well, before it wasn't even about actions it was about what an American looked like. So, I mean, I'm thinking white, middle class, you know, you celebrate July Fourth, you know, you just, there are certain things that white people do that I was just like, 'that's what it means to be an American.' Right? You go to baseball games, you do that, and so as I developed that definition completely changed to focus from what an American looked like to what an American should do, kind of thing, if that makes sense (3-26:18).

The participant continued to say that the old definition of being an American shifted to being “active versus passive” (3-26:29), from being a function of race to a function of actions.

Multiple Identities

All interviewees identified themselves with multiple identifications and hyphenated identities. When asked, “how do you identify yourself,” all participants mentioned being Muslim, American, Arab-American, African-American, and so on. Not one interviewee mentioned only being Muslim or only being American. However, not all participants discussed having multiple identities as a concept, despite subscribing themselves to having multiple identities. Fourteen out of the twenty interviewees mentioned the concept of multiple identities, fractured identities, overlapping identities, or the tension or conflict of two identities.

Out of the fourteen interviewees who mentioned multiple identities, five of them mentioned that having multiple identities was a positive concept in that it did not cause internal conflict. One participant said, “*I'm very comfortable with multiple identities*” (16-15:44). Another participant explained that having multiple identities is part and parcel of the American experience. They explained, “*What we have actually is three identities in one: being American, being Muslim, and being Indian. That can only happen in America.*”

You don't give up anything" (15-33:16). For one participant, having multiple identities did not mean that one had to divvy up their identifications in which they were part Arab, part American, and part Muslim. But rather, they explained, *"I'm like 100% American and I'm 100% Arab. Those are my cultural contexts, but I'm 1000% Muslim"*²⁸ (5-18:14).

However, the remaining discussed identities as something that needed to be reconciled, especially with the youth. In one case, multiple identities had to do with not being white, therefore, not being American. The participant explained that the Arab American Muslim community could be American despite their non-white categorization, *"That even though we weren't white, we didn't look, we didn't may look or act white and what not, that we still had this right, to claim this title as Americans"* (3-37:40)²⁹.

One participant explained that after September 11th, Muslim American identity became oxymoronic and in tension. She stated, *"Our bubble popped on 9/11. The reality is, you know, my sister is going to have identity issues if we don't deal with the fact that people don't know enough about our faith"* (13-30:47). Another participant spoke about how the youth were unable to reconcile their identities and therefore, forewent their American identities and pointed towards their ethnic affiliations. The participant stated, *"I saw many kids saying, I'm this, I'm this, I'm this as though they are separating themselves from America"* (6-20:35). Another participant spoke about the youth and the Muslim community as being a fractured community unable to reconcile their multiple identities and loyalties (19-16:32).

²⁸ The participant explained that they were 1000% Muslim because faith trumps all since it guides one's every action more than a cultural identification would.

²⁹ Despite the fact that Arab in census data is considered Caucasian, Arabs do not consider themselves as white. Furthermore, not all Arabs are white categorically. For example, Arabs from Sudan, part of Egypt, and Somalia are black. Moreover, many Arabs outside of the Levant region have a darker skin tone; therefore, to describe themselves as white or Caucasian seems ill fitting.

There were two major competing narratives among interviewees, either a tension with multiple identities or a comfort and reconciliation of multiple identities. It was clear that all cases that mentioned comfort of multiple identities were at least above 30 years old. All cases that mentioned tension and discomfort with multiple identities were in reference to a younger self (in which one has already reconciled the multiple identities) or in reference to the Muslim American youth who have not done so.

Patriotism:

What does patriotism mean?

Participants gave many different answers regarding what patriotism means. In this section, I will focus on the major themes that emerged based on participants' responses. Those themes are: 1) loyalty; 2) patriotism not being blind; 3) patriotism not being symbolic; 4) patriotism as an active pursuit; 5) patriotism equals American; 6) the issue of race regarding patriotism.

Loyalty

During the interview, participants were asked how they would define patriotism. Only four of the interviewees defined patriotism in terms of loyalty. It was understood as "*loyalty to our country*" (8-24:50), "*loyalty to the (American) masses*" (9-21:53), "*being loyal to your soil*" (12-55:51), "*Loyalty.(Pause) I am a loyal Arab American*" (19-43:30). These interviewees mentioned loyalty as being the main definition of patriotism, although other notions were brought up which will be discussed in later, such as patriotism not being blind, willing to give your life for a just cause, or multiple identifications.

For two interviewees, patriotism was a problematic term. One due to patriotism being blind and the other stated that "*I don't like that word*" (11-31:35) and when

prompted why, they continued on by saying “*Because it really stresses that you’re loyal to one thing*” and “*that it shouldn’t be forced upon anybody*” (11-32:06). The issue here was with the fact that patriotism was problematic because it was an exclusive term in which one is forced to be loyal to one identity at a time. This interviewee also mentioned loyalty as part of the definition of being an American by stating “*Since you’re asking specifically about being an American, that does mean being loyal to the governing body and all the rules and regulations*” (11-31:29).

Only three more interviewees mentioned loyalty. Once in regards to the defensiveness of the Muslim American community, where one could find “*a certain amount of push back from outside the community about one’s loyalty, one’s patriotism being contested, being challenged, being questioned.*” (1-25:20). Second, in regards to discussing multiple identities of the immigrant community “*So, you have to be loyal to your home. And you’re in this new place. You moved here, you live here. This is where you are. You’re raising your children here. So, you’re also loyal to this place because you want this place to be good because then your kids will be jacked up if this place is not good.*” (10-38:38) Third, similar to the former, in regards to multiple loyalties associated with naturalized citizens “*I don’t know what its like to be from another country, to have that divided loyalty, I mean divided isn’t really the right word, but at least two bases to be loyal to different countries.*” (14-17:48).

Despite the fact that loyalty is the most common understood perception of patriotism, only four out of the twenty participants perceived it as such. Furthermore, only two of the interviewees left the definition at only loyalty. Although, all four

interviewees who mentioned loyalty, made it clear that loyalty is contingent upon being not blind.

Patriotism cannot be blind

All the interviewees mentioned that patriotism could not be blind. This is because they found the term problematic, especially since it was often associated with particular images. Many interviewees associated patriotism with the tea party, with conservatives, with being a white American (because being Arab did not mean being white, despite census categorizations). Therefore, they found the concept of patriotism to be problematic and needed to be redefined. All interviewees made the statement that patriotism could not be a blind patriotism. For example, *“To me patriotism means loving your country, but in a way you care for what is best for your country and not necessarily just blindly following whatever the leaders of your country say is the right thing”* (14-24:39). Another said, *“Patriotism, I think that its loyalty to our country. Right? But its not blind loyalty”* (8-24:50). Another interview stated, *“I could be a loyal, patriotic American, and still have my opinions and thoughts about how it (America) does things, like right now, there is a number of things that I totally and utterly disagree with that is taking place here, that doesn’t make me lesser or more American”* (11-33:40). Another participant stated, quoting Howard Zinn, *“dissent is the highest form of patriotism”* (2-18:14). Yet another participant stated that *“patriotism has to do with questioning authority to make sure that we are going in a direction that us, all of us Americans, are being benefitted and are going to have a better future”* (4-20:32).

This is contrary to the assumption that Muslims are afraid to speak up and criticize government out of fear of increased monitoring. In fact, based on all the

interviews, all of the Muslim American opinion leaders felt it was necessary to speak out against what they may have perceived as an injustice in government or mistake in policies, both domestic and foreign. This could be associated for three major reasons. First, the being an American and a patriot is an active process and one must constantly engage in creating an American narrative. Second, by religious sentiment, they will speak out if they see something they deem “wrong”. It is part of a Muslims religious obligation to “enjoin good and forbid evil” and that extends to governmental policies. Third, this is a reaction to being silenced by the overpowering mainstream media that has had a more negative narrative regarding Muslims, their identity, and their patriotism. If anything, this shows that Muslim thought leadership is unafraid of increased monitoring or governmental crackdowns on their community.

Patriotism cannot be symbolic

Many interviewees argued that symbolic patriotism was problematic and not a true manifestation of patriotism. This is because patriotism, for all the interviewees is an active pursuit. All the participants, except two, described patriotism with active verbs. The remaining two participants described patriotism as “*a consciousness of what it means to be American and a duty to uphold it*” and “*an identity with an appreciation for the land in which you exist*”. Both of which are active and on-going forms of thought and being, not past or limited in time.

The participants viewed symbolic patriotism as problematic for multiple reasons. First, it was seem as a superficial manifestation of patriotism, not an internalized notion. One interviewee stated, “*Well, patriotism is... problematic because others seem to define it so rigidly. And they define it, through expression. That one is patriotic, not necessarily*

because of what one feels or what one internalizes, but how one manifests or personifies that patriotism through what becomes a series of symbolic gestures.” (1-19:24). The interviewee continued later on to state “*when it comes to either standing during the national anthem or where one places one’s heart, or the expression one has when one sees the flag of the country, or making certain rhetorical statements about being willing to die for the country or die for the flag; these seem to be the more pedestrian ways that people will look at patriotism” (1-20:07).*

Second, they viewed symbolic patriotism as problematic because it is harmful to the nation. Another participant stated “*So, those people who I believe just wave the flag and support America at all costs, that’s not true love, I think they actually hurt this country more” (2-19:26).*

Third, symbolic patriotism was problematic because it was temporary and forgotten, only roused when a hot-button issue emerges in the media; whereas, patriotism needed to be a long-lasting pursuit, constantly engaged and ongoing. A participant made this clear by saying “*As a matter of fact, this could be said about the American public. Flag waving patriots, boy you get some issue, you wave that flag for about ten minutes, then put it in the drawer and go on with their uninteresting life” (19-33:38).* Similarly, another participant stated, criticizing those who are not actively engaged in the pursuit of American ideals after discussing the American dream, “*And some Americans, even though serving in our military or hundreds of flags in front of their house, if they don't truly understand that or believe that, they're not more American than I am, they're actually less American.” (13-19:36)*

Patriotism is an active pursuit

This was mentioned in the former section, where participants criticized the notion of symbolic patriotism. Although not all participants mentioned symbolic patriotism or criticized “flag waving patriots,” all of the participants indicated that patriotism was an active pursuit that it had to do with some sort of action one takes towards a goal. One participant stated, “*Patriotism is a consciousness that there is a core ethos of what it means to be an American and what America itself means. And the desire to, and in a sense, they duty to uphold what that is*” (1-20:07). Another participant explained that patriotism was contingent upon engagement and is “*really engaging and supporting, first of all, your local community, local efforts, getting involved with a lot of, or helping those who are disadvantaged*” (3-27:40). Another participant explained that “*part of patriotism is being an active member of your community and not passively allowing things to happen*” (4-22:20). Another participant stated, “*patriotism is standing up for those American ideals, especially for the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*” (9-20:09). All of the participants made a claim that patriotism was an active pursuit, whether for the betterment of the nation, the duty to uphold what it means to be an American, the pursuit of American ideals or even the American dream.

Although, one interviewee had an active notion of patriotism, but found it problematic. The participant explained that “*We can’t be born and live a patriotic life, I mean, we got to do something miraculous to prove our patriotism to them*” (7-37:02). Pointing to the core problem that faces Muslim Americans in a post-9/11 world. That simply believing one is a patriot does not suffice; one must prove their patriotism. This is most likely the underlying cause of why patriotism or being patriotic is an active pursuit rather than a state of being.

Patriotism equals American

For many interviewees, patriotism meant the same thing as being an American. When asked, what does it mean to be an American, they would give a specific definition and then later on, when asked what does patriotism mean, they would say something such as, *“Oh, that would fall into what I said earlier.”* (3-27:40) or *“I already did in many ways”* (15-36:43). In some cases, the interviewees would restate their definition of what it means to be an American after being asked what it means to be a patriot. In order to ensure that they did or did not have a different definition for the two concepts, they were asked, if the two concepts were the same. Multiple others struggled to differentiate through the two concepts, circling back to their earlier statements and repeating their earlier definitions.

Discussion of perception

All the interviewees at some point discussed other people’s perceptions of themselves or their group (Muslim Americans and in some cases African Americans). In a few cases, being American or patriotic had a racial categorization (white, Christian, non-immigrant) in which they were not perceived to be a part of, and therefore, had to actively redefine it or prove that they were American or patriotic.

Would you consider yourself patriotic?

Eighteen out of the twenty participants described themselves as patriotic; however, the two remaining took issue with the term. They found that the concept of patriotism was problematic. In both cases, patriotism was associated with blind loyalty as well as whiteness (excluding Arabs).

The challenge that opinion leaders face in terms of loyalty is that of persuasion to their laity. If the laity is not persuaded to perceive themselves as being American, patriotic, or loyal, then that reinforces others to say that they are not. The experience of Muslim American opinion leaders is a complex and difficult one. They attempt to lead their members. They also attempt to persuade them in order to ensure that their social capital continues. Also, they attempt to persuade other opinion leaders on the outside of the loyalty and contribution of their members, Muslim Americans. Moreover, the opinion leaders must learn to speak to the varying contexts of their members and be able to comprehend multiple experiences, such as the black American experience, the immigrant experience, the youth experience, as well as the convert experience.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This project contributes to the study of Muslim Americans, whom have been an increasing and intensifying subject of study since 9/11, yet simultaneously understudied population. Muslim Americans continue to be a subject of scrutiny by both the media, through a overtly bias lensed, as well as the government, such as the NYPD's monitoring of MSA's, to the NDAA, as well as the need for President Obama to repeat statements of Muslim Americans as being part of the fabric of American society. This study contributed in two realms: first, a methodological in-depth qualitative study of Muslim American opinion leaders; second, a theoretical contribution on patriotism uses Muslim American opinion leaders as the unit of analysis. In the former, research on Muslim Americans is often is conducted through statistical analysis rather than open-ended in depth interviews. This allows for a deeper, more comprehensive outlook on how Muslim Americans perceived patriotism and in the latter realm, defined patriotism.

Self-Analysis: Being a Muslim American, Participant-Observer

In the methods section, I discussed the concept of being a participant observer and the implication that has on one's biases and the potential to steer interviews in a certain direction. I pointed to the methods I used to safe guard against that. Those methods include: First, to include multiple direct quotes, so that the readers can interpret the data. Second, to include a quantified version of the data of repeated themes; and Third, in order to ensure that I did not contribute to leading in the interviews through the questionnaire, I did not provide a definition of patriotism or Americanness and if I was asked to provide one, I reminded the participant that their definition was the goal of my study. Also, I pointed to the fact that being a participant-observer, a member of the "group",

participants that were interviewed felt at ease with me and were able to speak frankly. Fourteen out of the twenty participants asked to go “off the record” at some point during the interview. In those “off the record” conversations, most of the time they did not diverge much from the remainder of their interviews. But the fact that they felt comfortable enough to go “off the record” and speak without fear of being recorded or reported on is a testament to their comfort, honesty, openness, and frankness with speaking to me as an interviewer. Although, I discussed the role I had as a participant observer to ensure that bias does not emerge in the study, that does not mean I am fully removed from the analysis.

Like all researchers, a piece of themselves becomes embedded in their research. In particular in qualitative studies and in the social sciences, the researcher can easily become part and parcel of the study itself. This was very easy for me because I am a participant observer. Meaning, I am an active Muslim American in the metropolitan Detroit area. Although, I personally would not label myself as an opinion leader, I have played such a role in the past, from helping organizing the first Muslim Advocacy Day at the State House in Lansing, to teaching the recitation and hermeneutics of the Quran, as well as being involved in multiple local Muslim organizations and speaking at various events, as well as serving as a local youth mentor at my local mosque. Simply because I am visibly Muslim due to my preference to wear the headscarf while teaching secular courses in the Political Science Department and the Near Eastern Studies Program, students, both Muslim and others, ask me questions about the faith as well as particular religious rulings, and over all, my opinions regarding contemporary and historical events and matters. By the definition provided in the methods section whether or not I would

choose the label for myself, I am an opinion leader of the Muslim American community. Throughout the interviews, there were moments where I wanted to begin debating with my interviewees, but was forced to hold myself back in order to not affect or influence the responses I received by the participants. My personal opinions on the topic have been questions that I have personally struggled with, being someone who was essentially raised in a post-9/11 world. I was fourteen at the time and had gone through the rest of my high school and college career in an environment that constantly questioned who I was. I remember being repeatedly asked by college professors who considered themselves liberals (I did grow up in Massachusetts, so it was a natural part of the environment, given that conservatives in MA happen to be liberal in comparison to other states) how it was possible that “my English was so good?” and I would repeatedly respond that “I was born and raised in Massachusetts”. I had experienced an almost weekly, if not more frequent routine of being “randomly searched” on public transportation. I had been told to go back to my country, that I was a terrorist, that I was stealing jobs, that I was oppressed and ascribed to so many stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims relentlessly. I had experienced having my headscarf ripped off my head in college twice. I had a fountain drink thrown at me, while someone insulted me in a public cafeteria. Most annoying of all, the repeated question that I have been asked probably at least twenty times of whether or not I was related to Osama Bin Laden. Living in Massachusetts up until I was 19, I was always seen as different, and myself and a handful of others were the only visible Muslims on our college campus. When I moved to Michigan, the concept of otherness changed. I have never been directly mistreated or insulted by people in Michigan and this is because of the large congestion of Muslim and

Arabs in the area that people are used to “us”; nevertheless, I have experienced and different type of “otherness”. In the metropolitan Detroit area, people spoke on my behalf because everyone “knew” a Muslim or an Arab, thereby assuming everyone was like the person they knew. Whereas in Massachusetts, I was able to speak for myself and define my faith and actions based on my personal experience and beliefs. Essentially, I was, at the time (which I do not believe is the case anymore) the person in which people referred to as their “one Muslim friend”, and by being relegated to that role, the person who created the narrative. When I relocated to metropolitan Detroit, I was constantly asked why I was not like other Arabs? Or why didn’t I speak like the Arabs in Dearborn (because there is a slight distinguishable accent among Arab Dearborn residents that is different from the rest of metropolitan Detroit)? Or whether or not I was truly Arab or a Muslim? In metropolitan Detroit, archetypes of who was an Arab or a Muslim had already existed and I did not fall neatly into those categories. I cannot but help draw the parallel to Du Bois, who was a black American from Massachusetts and attempted to bring black Americans into the mainstream through the Crisis Magazine as well as to show the strengths, contributions, and equality of black Americans to the white counterpart. However, when Du Bois left Massachusetts and witnessed a different black American culture, and in particular Southern black American culture, he experienced a new kind of otherness. One in which he was an “other”, within a larger “other” group.

The reason I share my narrative is so that the reader can better understand the part of me that is embedded in this study that all researchers leave in their research. In my analysis of the participants’ quotes, the reader may draw their own conclusions about my analysis and conclusions. I happen to be a Muslim American, who could possibly be

labeled an opinion leader, who is both an insider of their group, while simultaneously being an outsider. This study is both a part of me individually as a Muslim American, as well as a part of me collectively in the larger American experience.

Five Major Conclusions

Ultimately, this study draws five major conclusions. First, despite Muslim American's "otherness" whether the interviewee perceived themselves as *the other* internally or believed that the American public perceived the interviewee as *the outsider* they still considered themselves fully American. Regardless if their Americanness had been questioned by media outlets, such as Fox News, blogs such as *Politically Incorrect*; documentaries such as *Fitna*, *Islam: The Untold Story*, *Islam: What the West Needs to Know*, *Losing Our Sons*, *Terrorists Among Us: Jihad in America*, or *The Third Jihad: Radical Islam's Vision for America*; and governmental policy, such as the Patriot Act, the NDAA and monitoring of Muslims; as individuals, all the interviewed Muslim American opinion leaders viewed themselves as American by identity.

Second, being an American is not a matter of citizenship alone. Citizenship is a limited conceptualization of Americanness that relies on legal citizenship and the rights associated with it. However, to the interviewees, Americanness incorporates citizenship, equally with values, beliefs, a sense of community, active engagement and a duty to give back to the country. These concepts allow for a redefinition of what it means to be an American as beyond the virtue of legal citizenship. For the opinion leaders, they raise the interesting question that legal citizenship is but one dimension of citizenship and by proxy of that Americanness; similarly, this is why immigrants without full citizenship fight for rights. However, does this mean that being an American is something that has a

formal definition or as something that is fluid and flexible. These participants are creating a new dialogue of what it means to be an American and contributing to a legacy of attempts to redefine what it means to be an American. For example, Harold Ickes former US Secretary of Interior delivered a famous speech in 1941 asking *What is an American?* and throughout the course of his speech concludes that one cannot be American by “coincidence of citizenship” but rather, an American is one who “loves justice and believes in the dignity of man... who will fight for his freedom and that of his neighbor... who will sacrifice property, ease and security in order that he and his children may retain the rights of free men... whose heart is engraved the immortal second sentence of the Declaration of Independence” (Ickes, 1941). Similar to the interviewees, being a true American is going beyond one’s citizenship. Although, Ickes speech was delivered in the midst of potential war against Nazi Germany, countering popular skepticism towards the necessity of direct American involvement in the conflict. Muslim American opinion leaders are adding their particular perspective to a continued debate about the meaning of citizenship, patriotism and what it means to be an American.

Third, every interviewee mentioned that patriotism was not and could not be blind. This was surprising, for a group of people who are subject to intense scrutiny by the government and media, one would assume that they would reject the notion of verbalizing discontent with governmental policies and actions, however that was not the case. In fact, a relatively recent (August 6, 2013) published an article in *The Islamic Monthly* called “Dissenting the Dissent: Are American Muslim Leaders Unwittingly Facilitating Extremism Amongst a Generation of Youth,” the author Amina Chaudhry argues that Muslim leaders were unwilling to criticize government and policies. This

study found that it is the opposite case. All of the opinion leaders interviewed argued that dissent was necessary. It may be the case that the need to be critical or non-blind patriots is linked to faith. In fact, many participants associated the need to speak out against injustice as related to their faith. One participant explained,

I will definitely speak out against that publicly. And in the community, I will let them know that I have very strong feels about that. And the reason for that is tied to my faith, so it goes a little deeper for me, because Islam says you should be abiding by the laws of the land. I think Islam promotes us to be good citizens of a country, you know, and to be a part and parcel of it. (5-26:30).

Similar statements were made by the participants, in which they linked faith to the need to speak out against injustice or unjust policies. All of the interviewees believed that one could not be a blind citizen. They must actively question and scrutinize governmental decisions, and this was part of one's patriotic duty. This is directly in response to the Bush Era's policy of "you're either with us or against us". This is illustrative of the fact that interviewees mentioned being critical against the War on Terror, the Patriot Act, the NDAA and overall increased scrutiny against Muslim Americans. For example, one participant stated,

The reason why I say that, if we look at other trends in mass fear mongering that have taken place both from politicians and entertainment industry in the best correlation that I can give is the Red Scare that took place and directly after World War II and ended in the late 80's. It was something that became institutionalized and our country likes to set up a bogeyman regarding foreign policy and who we can scapegoat and who we can rally the country around. (2-28:48)

By being critical against governmental policy, it would automatically place the interviewees in the "against us" category, labeling them as disloyal, thereby automatically deeming them as patriotic. However, for these interviewees, patriotism required that one be critical towards governmental decisions, not out of a sense of disloyalty, but out of a sense of true loyalty to America. For the Muslim American

opinion leaders interviewed, the fact that they are questioning the country is patriotic not only to benefit themselves, but to benefit the country on the whole.

It is important to note that the notion of faith serves to reinforce one's will to abide by the laws is important. One participant stated, *"Again, it all goes back to being a good conscious, human being wherever you are and doing what's right and you know, enjoining what is good, forbidding what is evil basic principles of Islam, abide by where you are and that is society at its best"* (11-44:48). The participant also implies in this quote that, regardless of whether or not Muslim institutions or the mosques do not openly oppose the government, individuals have a spiritual obligation to strive against "evil". The question of the conflict between faith and patriotism arises. Rousseau finds the notion of religion problematic, since he views faith and in particular, the institution of the Church as paradoxical with civil religion (Rousseau, Social Contract, Book IV). However, he explains that there are two other notions of religion in which one has the "religion of man" and the other being a religion that reinforces their belief in the laws. It seems that it is the case with Muslim American opinion leaders that faith helps reinforce their civic duties and willingness to abide by the laws.

Fourth, in the course of the investigation, ethnicity and race was not held as a factor to limit interviewees from participating. As stated in the methods chapter, Muslim Americans make up many racial and ethnic groups. To focus on only one subgroup of Muslim Americans would be a gross understudy of the group. However, throughout the interviews, one finds that similar to the condition of the general population of the United States, race and ethnicity does affect one's feeling of Americanness. Race and ethnicity has to do with how much one feels more or less American. African American and Arab

American participants felt that their Americanness was not perceived as true Americans by the general population; whereas, South Asian Americans and white American converts did not indicate that their identity was as deeply questioned. This may be a product of the history of both African Americans and Arab Americans. African Americans had a history of systemic discrimination including overcoming the challenges of slavery, lack of suffrage and rights; only to be stereotyped and largely misrepresented by the media. Arab Americans, as mentioned earlier, have been misrepresented by the media since the early twentieth century as villains, terrorists, rapists, abusers of women, dimwitted and so forth. Also, it may be a function of economic status, because South Asian Americans tend to be well educated with better paying jobs.

Fifth, for Muslim Americans, being American and being patriotic are essentially the same thing. One cannot be a true American unless they are patriotic. Americanness and patriotism are indefinitely intertwined and inseparable for most of the respondents. Equally important, feeling that one had to be a super American to compensate for being Muslim, while troubling, is a theme found among a cadre of opinion leaders. Hence it is felt that one had to prove their Americanness by being overly patriotic. More interviewees displayed this notion in the former category, rather than the latter. Muslim American opinion leaders simply described Americanness and patriotism with similar and in many cases the same adjectives. Only one interviewee explicitly mentioned that to be considered American they had “*to do something miraculous to prove our patriotism to them*” (7-37:02).

Sixth, this study indicates the need for further study of Muslim Americans, especially in terms of policies in order to incorporate Muslim Americans, rather than

allowing them to feel marginalized. This is because Muslim Americans, concluded from the interviews, are so invested in the country. They feel very American and feel a very strong responsibility and duty towards the country. It would be in the best interest of policy makers to take advantage of this willing group of citizens and see how they may be able to facilitate more involvement in the communities and locals, as they are part of the nation's political and cultural landscape.

Muslim American Patriotism Archetypes?

Table 5.1- Muslim American Patriotism Archetypes

	Low Americanness	High Americanness
Active	Low Identification with Americanness, Active involvement Active Participant	High Identification with Americanness, Active involvement Prototypical Patriot
Passive	Low Identification with Americanness, Passive involvement Passive Participant	High Identification with Americanness, Passive Involvement Symbolic Patriot

In the introduction, it was set out to develop a continuum of patriotism among Muslim Americans. However, it seems that there are two main types: the prototypical American patriot and the American activist. In the first case, Muslim Americans viewed themselves as patriotic, Americans who believed in an active engagement in society and politics and the overall betterment of American society. In the second case, in which only

two interviewees felt, they identified with their American identity, but did not associate themselves with patriotism; although, they believed it was part of their American duty to positively influence and strive for the betterment of America. There were no cases of apolitical passive Americans. This may be due to a few reasons: First, this may be due to the fact that all of the opinion leaders, by virtue of their leadership, are activists. Second, it may be due to the fact that Islam dictates an activist based lifestyle, of “enjoining good and forbidding evil” and often repeated command in the Quran. Furthermore, Islam requires that you constantly strive towards the betterment of society. Third, this may be due to the fact that all interviewees perceived Americanness as inherently active, therefore, whether or not one considered themselves patriotic, they still had an active duty by proxy of their Americanness.

This study was pivotal in discovering how Muslim Americans actually perceived Americanness and patriotism, as opposed to the assumptions cast in their direction as being un-American and disloyal. It helped contribute to patriotism literature, in particular to the notion of patriotism and Americanness as being inseparable.

Future Studies regarding Muslim American Patriotism

Multiple studies could be conducted in the future to help develop a fuller and clearer picture regarding Muslim Americans. Given that the study was focused on Muslim American opinion leaders, it would be crucial to study the members of the Muslim American community to test whether perceptions of opinion leaders are consistent with their laity. For example, it was noted that Muslim American opinion leaders might have an active approach to Americanness by proxy of their leadership. This may differ for the laity. It would be interesting to test whether the concept of activism

towards one's patriotism and Americanness stems from a set of American ideals or from Muslim ideals.

A replication of the current investigation in England or Denmark would help illuminate how Muslims perceive themselves in other democratic nations. A comparative study could allow one to highlight the nuanced differences that are unique to America as opposed to other democracies. It would also contribute to how the concept of patriotism is perceived in America versus in other societies. I surmise that patriotism in America is heavily associated with American ideals and exceptionalism.

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

General Individual Background information:

1. Name
2. Age
3. American by birth or naturalization? If naturalized, when family moved to the USA?
4. Level of education?
5. Position of leadership? Career? Voluntary leadership or full-time position?

Community Background information:

1. How do you define a leader?
2. Is your community a urban or suburban community?
3. How large is your community?
4. What is the average level of education for your community?
5. What is the average Class/Economic/Employment status of your community?
6. Male/female dynamics in your community? Does your influence extend directly to the opposite gender?
7. What kind of guidance do members of your community come to you for? Spiritual? Social? Or Political?
8. Is your community socially and politically involved in America? How so?
9. Do community members come to you with political discussions or questions?

Perspectives on Patriotism and Americanness

1. How do you identify yourself?
2. How do you define what it means to be an American?
3. How do you define patriotism? Do you consider yourself patriotic?
4. Do you discuss issues regarding Americanness or patriotism to your community? Why has it been brought up? If so, how has it been addressed?
5. How have you addressed the radicalization of Muslim youth in the US? Has it been a problem in your community? Has your community sought to take preventive measures against radicalization?
6. What do you imagine the future to be like for Muslim Americans in 10 years? In 30 years?
7. Do you think the context of Metropolitan Detroit is similar or different from the national climate towards Muslim Americans? Why or why not?

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT LETTER

Dear _____,

My name is Reem Abou-samra, a PhD student at Wayne State University in the department of Political Science. I am writing you a letter in order to ask you to participate in a research study on the perceptions of patriotism and Americanness amongst Muslim American opinion leaders. You are being contacted because you qualify as a Muslim American opinion leader due to your position as _____ (fill in appropriate leadership position).

In this research study, we seek to explore how Muslim American opinion leaders address the question of patriotism, Americanness, and identity in relationship to their followers or community members. The research process would entail: first, formally agreeing to participation, in which we will discuss the details of your participation in the study; second, an audio recorded interview. The estimated time of an interview is one hour. Your private information will remain confidential and any identifiers will be omitted from the analysis.

In our current political climate, the voices and perceptions of Muslim Americans especially in regards to patriotism is often unheard. Because of the recent media attention focusing on the Muslim American community, this study is timely and important. It allows for an opportunity of Muslim Americans, and in particular opinion leaders, to define important concepts such as patriotism, Americanness, and identity themselves, rather than it being defined for them.

If you are interested in participating in the study or would like more information, feel free to contact me at **734-272-9738** or email me at **reem.abou@wayne.edu**.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Reem Abou-samra

APPENDIX C: HIC APPROVAL LETTER

**WAYNE STATE
UNIVERSITY**

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
<http://irb.wayne.edu>

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

To: Reem Abou-Samra
Political Science
656 W. Kirby, 2040 F/AB

From: Dr. Scott Millis *h Campbell Hyatt*
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: February 14, 2013

RE: IRB #: 017513B3E

Protocol Title: Patriotism Among Muslim American Opinion Leaders

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1301011681

Expiration Date: February 13, 2014

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* Category (#7)* by the Chairperson/designee for the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 02/14/2013 through 02/13/2014. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Revised Protocol Summary Form (received in the IRB Office 2/14/13)
- Protocol (received in the IRB Office 1/24/13)
- The request for a waiver of the requirement for written documentation of informed consent has been granted according to 45 CFR 46.117(1)(2). Justification for this request has been provided by the PI in the Protocol Summary Form. The waiver satisfies the following criteria: (i) the research involves no more than minimal risk to participants, (ii) the research involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context, (iii) the consent process is appropriate, and (iv) an information sheet disclosing the required and appropriate additional elements of consent disclosure will be provided to participants.
- Research Information Sheet (dated 2/11/13)
- Recruitment Letter
- Data collection tools: Questionnaire

-
- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You may receive a "Continuation Renewal Reminder" approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval **before** the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.
 - All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.
 - Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (<http://www.irb.wayne.edu/policies-human-research.php>).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the IRB Administration Office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the IRB website at **each** use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

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ABSTRACT**PATRIOTISM AMONG MUSLIM AMERICAN OPINION LEADERS**

by

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A significant degree of public opinion research has been conducted on Muslim Americans, but very little has focused on their perceptions. This study explores how opinion leaders address the question of patriotism, Americanness, hyphenated identities, and the implications of such a discourse. The study is confined to Wayne County, MI, because of the significant role Muslim Americans have played in labor struggles, local culture, civil rights, and their visibility. This study is significant because ongoing issues have triggered media attention on Muslim Americans and questioned their patriotism and Americanness, such as the “Ground Zero Mosque” debate, the “anti-Sharia” bill proposals, the Patriot Act, the NDAA, the NYPD's spying on MSAs, and the increase of hate crimes occurring at varying places of worship. This study explores how messages of Americanness and patriotism are transmitted from opinion leaders to their followers among Muslim Americans. Through interviewing opinion leaders from a “perspectival” approach, archetypes (classifications) of what it means to be an American Muslim will be developed as well as conceptual patriotism continuum.

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